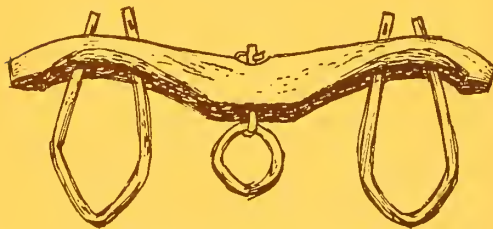


LINCOLN'S
Emancipation
Proclamation



Charles Eberstadt

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LINCOLN'S
Emancipation Proclamation



CHARLES EBERSTADT

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LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION
PROCLAMATION

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[Page references are to pagination of original printing in *The New Colophon*]

LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

Charles Eberstadt

“WE hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. . . .” So solemnly declared the founding fathers in Congress, July 4, 1776. Four days later, on July 8th at Independence Hall, was read the lofty Declaration, and its noble sentiments were publicly proclaimed by the ringing of a bell. Graven on the bell — purely by coincidence — were the sonorous words of Leviticus xxv:10: “Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.” But the bell must have echoed discordantly in some ears, even as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Liberty was not being proclaimed to *all* the inhabitants; nor was the infant Nation, then laboring through the bloody process of birth, to hold as a Truth that “*all* Men are created equal.” The founding fathers did not say, but they meant: all *white* men. Fourscore

and seven years passed and the Nation existed half slave and half free. Then came a new birth of freedom: Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation.

The proclamation has been called by responsible persons one of the three great documents of world history, ranking with Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence. An even more enthusiastic proponent has extolled it as “the greatest document ever penned by the hand of mortal man.” Since it deals with a controversial subject, it has also had its critics. Our purpose here is not to evaluate, for certainly it is above our poor power to add or detract. From the time of its promulgation there have passed another fourscore and seven years. By good fortune new discoveries have come to light. It is our purpose here to discuss these discoveries in chronological sequence and to place them in proper setting as we follow the historical course of the writing and publication of Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

THE last week in June of 1862 witnessed the Seven Days' Battles which ended all hope of an early war's-end by the quick conquest of Richmond. As McClellan executed his strategic retreat from Mechanicsville to Harrison's Bar, Lincoln's boundless depression found words when he described himself as being as inconsolable as it was possible for a human to be and yet live.

The tortured President went often to the War Department building at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Seventeenth Street, to sit in the cipher room of the military telegraph office and, head in hands, await despatches. In charge of the office was Major Thomas Thompson Eckert, chief of the War Department Telegraph Staff. Lincoln told Stanton of his visits to Eckert's office: "I have been there often before breakfast, and in the evening as well, and frequently late at night, and several times before daylight, to get the latest news from the army." On one of these occasions during the first week of July¹ he asked Eckert for some paper, "as he wanted to write something special." The major gave him at least a quire of special foolscap writing paper.

On this certain day in July, the President seated himself at Eckert's desk between the two front windows, took the special foolscap writing paper, picked up a Gillott small-barrel pen, and commenced writing what has been regarded as the first draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. Eckert gives the details:

He then sat down and began to write. . . . He would look out of the window a while and then put his pen to paper, but he did not write much at once. He would study between times and

when he had made up his mind he would put down a line or two, and then sit quiet for a few minutes. . . . On the first day Lincoln did not cover one sheet of his special writing paper (nor indeed on any subsequent day). . . .²

When he was ready to leave, the President gave Eckert what he had written and asked that it be kept under lock and key. Every day or so he returned, asked for his manuscript, reread what he had written, revised it, and added another page. According to Eckert this process continued for several weeks, or until about the middle of July. By this time the telegrapher became

impressed with the idea that he [Lincoln] was engaged upon something of great importance, but did not know what it was until he had finished the document and then for the first time he told me that he had been writing an order giving freedom to the slaves in the South, for the purpose of hastening the end of the war. He said he had been able to work at my desk more quietly and command his thoughts better than at the White House, where he was frequently interrupted.³

There seems to be no good reason to doubt Eckert's story and we can assume that a draft of the proclamation was written in the manner he describes. However, since the first draft consists of only two paragraphs, written on one sheet and a half of paper, plainly the President occupied most of his time and twenty-four sheets of "special writing paper" on other documents. Almost certainly these were the following manuscripts (originals in DLC):

1. "Appeal to Favor Compensated Emancipation, Read by the President to Border State Representatives, July 12, 1862."
2. "Message to Congress, July 14, 1862, Enclosing Draft of a Bill to Compensate any State

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

¹ Major Eckert conflictingly gives the date as in June but "after McClellan's Seven Days' Fight." Bates, D. H. *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office* (New York, 1907), pp. 139-140.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

which may abolish slavery within its limits, the passage of which, substantially as presented, I respectfully and earnestly recommend.”

3. “Message to Congress, July 17, 1862, approving the Act to Suppress Insurrection . . .” including the long list of the President’s original objections to the bill known as the “Confiscation Act.”

Lincoln’s mind at this time was consumed with the idea of emancipation. He had long hoped to achieve it by Congressional act which would allow slaveholders fair compensation for the valuable “property” they would lose; the only alternative was non-compensated emancipation by Presidential proclamation. He first disclosed that he was seriously considering the latter action to Seward and Welles on Sunday, July 13, 1862. The Cabinet officers accompanied the President in his carriage to attend the funeral of Stanton’s infant child. Welles entered in his diary:

It was on this occasion and on this ride that he first mentioned . . . the subject of emancipating the slaves by proclamation. . . . He dwelt earnestly on the gravity, importance, and delicacy of the movement, said he had given it much thought and had about come to the conclusion that it was a military necessity absolutely essential for the salvation of the Union, that we must free the slaves or be ourselves subdued.¹

On July 15, 1862 Lincoln received a letter from an influential colored leader (J. Sella Martin) offering the military services of his people in the conflict: “They are ready to work or preach or fight to put down this rebellion.” Almost simultaneously he received a lengthy reply to his appeal to the Border State Representatives categorically refusing to vote in favor of an act to provide gradual emancipation. Lincoln told the artist, F. B. Carpenter:

¹ *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1911), I, 70.

I now determined upon the adoption of the emancipation policy; and, without consultation with, or the knowledge of the Cabinet, I prepared the original draft of the proclamation, and, after much anxious thought, called a Cabinet meeting on the subject.²

This meeting took place on Tuesday, July 22, 1862, a regular Cabinet day. All members were present, although Blair came in late. Carpenter continues Lincoln’s words:

I said to the Cabinet that I had resolved upon this step, and had not called them together to ask their advice, but to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before them; suggestions as to which would be in order, after they had heard it read. . . . Various suggestions were offered. . . . Nothing, however, was offered that I had not already fully anticipated and settled in my own mind, until Secretary Seward spoke. He said in substance: “Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. . . . It may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help; the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government.” . . . Mr. Lincoln continued: The wisdom of the view of the Secretary of State struck me with very great force. It was an aspect of the case that, in all my thought on the subject, I had entirely overlooked. The result was that I put the draft of the proclamation aside . . . waiting for a victory. . . .³

PRELIMINARY PROCLAMATION — MANUSCRIPTS

THE first working copy of this draft on Eckert’s special writing paper is not known to have survived. But a fair copy, entirely in Lincoln’s hand and endorsed by him “Emancipation Proclamation as first-sketched and

² Carpenter, F. B. *Six Months in the White House with Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1867), pp. 20-21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

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shown to the Cabinet in July 1862," is in the Library of Congress. Written on July 20th or 21st, it is on two pages of lined note paper, 12½ by 7⅞ inches. The text is in two paragraphs, the first of which was an implementation of the Confiscation Act as required by the terms of that act, and the second of which contained the actual principle of emancipation by proclamation. It was this latter that Lincoln put aside until a military victory might be achieved. The first paragraph was published exactly in the words of the manuscript as Lincoln's Proclamation of July 25, 1862. The official engrossed copy is in the National Archives. A manuscript of the July 25th proclamation, partly in Lincoln's hand, was given by James C. Welling, editor of the *National Intelligencer*, for sale at the Great Central Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia; it, together with Welling's letter of transmittal, is in the Library Company of Philadelphia. Nicolay and Hay stated that the Library of Congress draft was in their possession in 1890 when they facsimiled it,¹ but it found its way into the Robert Todd Lincoln Collection.

The victory Lincoln awaited did not come as soon as he hoped. Heckled by pressure from every side, the President nevertheless kept secret his intention. He answered Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions" with the noncommittal statement: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery."² To a delegation of Chicago clergymen pressing him on emancipation on September 13, 1862, he said:

I hope it will not be irreverent for me to say that if it is probable that God would reveal his will

to others, on a point so connected with my duty, it might be supposed he would reveal it directly to me. . . . I have not decided against a proclamation of liberty to the slaves, but hold the matter under advisement. And I can assure you that the subject is on my mind, by day and night, more than any other. Whatever shall appear to be God's will, I will do.³

It may be regarded as a coincidence that McClellan's disasters in Virginia drove Lincoln to adopt the emancipation policy and his victory at Antietam permitted its promulgation. When it was issued, on September 22, 1862, the proclamation was so worded that it constituted a warning to the slave states that if they did not cease warring on the United States in one hundred days their slaves would then (January 1, 1863) be proclaimed forever free. Thus the emancipation proclamation is actually two proclamations. The first of these is known as the preliminary proclamation and that of January 1, 1863 as the final proclamation.

Although he had put aside the July version, the President had it always near at hand and "from time to time touched it up here and there, adding or changing a line." When Lee crossed the Potomac, Lincoln resolved

that if McClellan drove him back I would send the proclamation after him. The battle of Antietam was fought Wednesday [September 17, 1862], and until Saturday I could not find out whether we had gained a victory or lost a battle. It was then too late to issue the proclamation that day; and the fact is I fixed it up a little Sunday, and on Monday [September 22, 1862] I let them have it.⁴

The final draft of the preliminary proclamation that Lincoln worked over on Sun-

¹ Nicolay and Hay. *Abraham Lincoln, a History* (New York, 1890), IV, 402-405.

² *National Intelligencer*, August 23, 1862.

³ *Chicago Tribune*, September 23, 1862.

⁴ Boutwell, G. S. *The Lawyer, the Statesman, and the Soldier* (New York, 1887), pp. 116-117.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

day was written several miles outside of Washington at the Soldiers' Home. Here, when it was finished, Lincoln read it to Vice-President Hamlin and received his approval. He then called a special Cabinet session to meet at noon the next day. To the Cabinet ministers he said:

When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation. . . . I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and (hesitating a little) to my maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. . . . If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any minor matter, which any one of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestions.¹

The President then read the proclamation, making remarks on several points, and a discussion followed that, according to Welles, was "long, earnest, and, on the general principle involved, harmonious."² Seward recommended that a phrase limiting the force of the act to the incumbency of the present President be omitted; that the government should promise to "maintain" as well as to "recognize" freedom; and one other minor alteration in the colonization clause. The modifications were approved, adopted, and written into the document.

The original manuscript draft written carefully by the President on Sunday morning (September 21, 1862), presented to the Cabinet and amended as above described, is now in the New York State Library. I have no reason to believe that a working draft has

survived. The New York State Library manuscript has been facsimiled by Lossing, Nicolay and Hay, and others. The original was presented by Lincoln to the Albany Army Relief Bazaar held in February and March, 1864. It bears an endorsement of transmittal by F. W. Seward, dated January 4, 1864, and stating about the text: "The body of it is in his own [Lincoln's] handwriting, the penciled additions in the hand of the Secretary of State [W. H. Seward], and the final beginning and ending in the hand of the chief clerk." Its sale netted \$1,000 and it went to Gerrit Smith, the abolitionist, who gave it to the United States Sanitary Commission. After Lincoln's funeral services in Albany in April, 1865, the State Legislature appropriated \$1,000 for its purchase and it was placed in the State Library. It might have shared the fate of the comparable manuscript of the final proclamation which was destroyed in the Chicago fire, but fortunately was one of the few treasures saved when the State Library burned in 1911. It was exhibited in the recent New York State Freedom Train. A photographic facsimile of the manuscript was published at Albany in 1865 headed, in log-type letters, "FIRST EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION." It is a large broadside, 37 1/8 by 17 3/4 inches. Below the photograph, on the DLC copy, is pasted a printed slip which reads: "First Emancipation Proclamation, by / President Lincoln."

Some historians have believed that another autographic copy of the preliminary proclamation existed, from the facsimile that is reproduced in Henry C. Whitney's *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston, 1892). Whitney was quite a scalawag, but what he stood to gain from reproducing a forgery is open to conjecture. Two printed clippings (from the Confiscation Act) are in-

¹ *Chase Diary*, American Historical Association annual report, 1902 (Washington, 1903), pp. 87-88.

² *Diary of Gideon Welles*, op. cit., I, p. 143.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

serted in the document and in the authentic copy they extend to fourteen and twenty-two lines, while in the Whitney forgery they run to nine and sixteen lines. The holographic work is close enough to rule out the possibility that it could be another genuine draft, and yet it displays enough variation to indicate that it is not a facsimile of the genuine original. The original copy of the forgery has evidently disappeared, it being known only in Whitney's facsimile.

When the Cabinet finished its discussion of the proclamation and the emendations were inserted into the manuscript text, Seward took it with him to the State Department and the formal phraseology of attestation was added. It was then given to an engrossing clerk and the official copy was made. It was bound with ribbon and the great seal applied. Seward and Lincoln both signed it that same afternoon of September 22, 1862 and the engrossed copy was officially filed. It is now in the National Archives.

That night serenaders with a brass band sang jubilantly outside the Executive Mansion. Lincoln told them:

What I did, I did after a very full deliberation, and under a very heavy and solemn sense of responsibility. I can only trust in God I have made no mistake. . . . It is now for the country and the world to pass judgment.¹

The next day the preliminary proclamation was carried in full by almost every leading paper in the country. Under boldfaced headlines it appeared in the *New York Times* with the comment: "There has been no more important and far-reaching document ever issued since the foundation of this Government than the proclamation of President Lincoln . . . published this morning."²

¹ Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

² *New York Times*, September 23, 1862.

PRELIMINARY PROCLAMATION — PRINTED EDITIONS

WITHOUT doubt the most interesting results of the present research will be the enumeration of the separately printed editions of both the preliminary and the final proclamations. The writer has located a considerable number of heretofore unrecorded contemporary editions, but not in every case has he found printers' job tickets, letters of transmittal or receipt, or other direct evidence to establish positive priority; however, where these are not available, strong *prima facie* evidence and corroborative circumstantial details support the conclusions presented.

The first printing of the preliminary proclamation (No. 1)³ is the only early edition with a descriptive heading. It reads: "*Notice of issuance of Proclamation emancipating slaves in States / in rebellion on January 1, 1865.*" In this caption-title, special attention is called to the words "*Notice of,*" which indicate definite priority. The date "1865" is, of course, an error for "1863," and suggests the haste with which this first rough issue was put through the press. It was printed at the Government Printing Office, probably on September 22, 1862, for immediate dissemination of the proclamation to the local press and interested Government agencies. It is a State Department edition, without the military heading or subscription found in the familiar General Orders No. 139. It has "L.S." instead of "SEAL"; and "City" rather than "city." The text is the same as Lincoln's holographic draft except for a few minor editorial corrections; *e.g.* the word "State" has a capital initial letter throughout and, in Seward's interlineation, the word "the" has been cor-

³ The number in parentheses after each edition discussed in the essay refers to the appended bibliography, where will be found a technical description with further data and locations.

FIRST PRINTING OF THE PRELIMINARY PROCLAMATION (NO. I)

the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.

That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress, entitled "An act to make an additional Article of War," approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:

"ARTICLE —. All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due; and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court-martial of violating this article, shall be dismissed from the service."

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage.*"

Also, to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate the property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figures following:

"SEC. 9. *And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid or comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army; and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States; and all slaves of such persons found on [or] being within any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.*

"SEC. 10. *And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any other State, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.*"

And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe,

obey, and enforce, within their respective spheres of service, the act and sections above recited.

And the Executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if that relation shall have been suspended or disturbed) be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

rected to "there." It is printed on three pages measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. At the end are the printed names of only Lincoln and Seward. Only one copy is known to exist. (See insert.)

Rushed off the press to supply the text to the few interdepartmental chiefs who had immediate need for it, this first edition doubtless was used as copy for the formal State Department folio and for the publication in General Orders. A letter in the National Archives from Adjutant E. D. Townsend to F. W. Seward, dated September 23, 1862, reads: "Dear Sir: I am directed by the Secretary of War to get a certified copy of the President's Proclamation which appeared in the papers this morning. Will you please cause one to be furnished for publication in General Orders." In blue pencil are endorsed the words: "ansd. & sent Sept. 23, 1862."

The second edition (No. 2) is the usual official State Department folio. I have not found a copy of this edition, but will not be surprised when copies turn up, if nowhere else, certainly in the State Department records of the National Archives. It will be a broadside on parchment paper, measuring about $13\frac{1}{8}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, possibly on a four-page sheet with the other three pages blank. It will be headed: "BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President . . .," and at the foot will have the printed signatures of Lincoln and Seward. Presidential proclamations of this period always appeared in this form, and the urgency for their distribution was such that they were printed promptly; in this case perhaps on the morning of September 24th. This is the issue that would have circulated among the foreign diplomats at Washington, and if it had been in the hands

of the British ambassador, Lord Stuart, on September 23rd he would have transmitted it to Lord Russell. I have examined a photostat of the copy sent by Stuart to Russell on that date (now in the British Museum) and identified it as a clipping from the *National Intelligencer* of September 23, 1862.

The third edition (No. 3) of the preliminary proclamation is, like the first two, a State Department publication, but its issuance was not characterized by the same immediacy. Its purpose was to notify the United States diplomatic fraternity, particularly our agents abroad, of the issuance of the proclamation. It is printed on a sheet folded to four pages, $12\frac{3}{4}$ by $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches; the proclamation occupies pp. 3-4, p. 2 is blank, and the first page contains a "CIRCULAR. *To the Diplomatic and Consular Officers of the United States in foreign countries*" dated September 22, 1862 and signed with the printed name of William H. Seward. Although the circular is dated September 22nd, that date is not an indication of when it was printed. Just as General Orders were printed one to two weeks after the date they carried, so, too, a time lag was involved in printing circular letters. The copy of the "Circular Letter" edition in the National Archives is endorsed as having been received by our Embassy in London on October 6, 1862. Fast mail steamers made the eastward crossing at this period in eight to ten days, the Cunarder *Scotia* making a record in 1863 of eight days and three hours. This would place the copy received by the London Embassy on October 6, 1862 on board either the "full-powered, Clyde-built Iron Steamship" *Edinburgh* or the North German Lloyd Steamship *New York*, both of which left with United States mail in the forenoon of September 27, 1862. Accordingly a publication date between September 24th and 26th in-

*Notice of issuance of Proclamation emancipating slaves in States
in rebellion on January 1, 1865. (81C)*

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States, and the people thereof, in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed.

That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all Slave States, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the effort to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon this continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued.

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by Proclamation, designate the States, and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

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clusive can safely be inferred for the third edition.

Besides the DNA copy, there is a copy of this edition in the Greenly-Clements Collection in the University of Michigan. Yale and Brown also have copies. The Library of Congress copy is imperfect, having two paragraphs, comprising thirteen lines, cut from it. But what a noble flaw! The clipping was made by Lincoln and the portion clipped was "paper hung" by him to the original autograph copy of the final proclamation. The copy has an endorsement in the President's hand: "Preliminary Proclamation from which a scrap was cut to paste onto the final one."

The fourth edition (No. 4) is War Department General Orders, No. 139. It is printed on three pages, measuring $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches or less, depending on how much the leaves are trimmed. The order is dated September 24, 1862 but it was not printed until September 29th or 30th. A letter in the National Archives from E. D. Townsend to Major H. Z. Curtis at St. Louis, and dated Washington, September 29, 1862, reads: "General Orders No. 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, and 135 (1,000 copies of each, made up in five parcels for convenience of carriage by mail) were mailed to Saint Louis between September 18th & 23d and General Orders No. 136, 137, & 140 go today — The General Orders are distributed as fast as received from the printer." General Orders, No. 140 also was dated September 24, 1862 and it may be inferred that General Orders, No. 139 was on the press as Townsend's letter of September 29, 1862 was written. It may be appropriate to mention here, because almost all the items described in this paper are of considerable rarity, that the General Orders editions are comparatively common. Distribution amounted to

some 15,000 copies and many of these have been preserved in bound volumes. Moreover, some fifteen different reprints appeared in the various compiled editions of General Orders. Another separate edition of General Orders No. 139 with facsimile signatures of Lincoln and Seward was printed in New York in 1864, employing script type.

So far as can be traced, the preliminary proclamation did not appear in Navy Department General Orders nor in any of the military General Orders published at lower echelons; thus, while the four editions discussed above are counterparts of the first four official editions of the final proclamation, there were printed two more official editions of it than of the preliminary proclamation.

The fifth edition (No. 5) is the only separate newspaper printing of the preliminary proclamation I have seen. It is headed "Uncle Sam Extra — The Abolition of Slavery." It was printed at Bowling Green, October 4, 1862 and the only copy so far located is in the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

The sixth edition (No. 6) is a privately issued broadside without date or place of printing but which probably issued — like No. 7, under the auspices of J. M. Forbes — from Boston in December, 1862. It measures eight by six inches and is headed: "By the President of the United States. / [spread-eagle with scroll] / A Proclamation." In addition to the text of the preliminary proclamation, this broadside contains an extract from Alexander Stephens' speech of 21 March 1861, which also appears on Nos. 7, 14, and 15.

The seventh edition (No. 7) is the only one separately issued in pamphlet form. The wrapper-title reads: "The Proclamation of Emancipation, by the President of the United States, to take effect January 1st, 1863." The booklet is a miniature affair of seven pages

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plus printed paper covers, 31/8 by 21/8 inches overall. It is listed by Monaghan, No. 147. The text is similar to the State Department editions, but with many minor variations. It was printed at Boston in December of 1862, the last of the editions of 1862.

THE September proclamation gave the South one hundred days' notice of the consequences that might be expected if it continued the rebellion beyond January 1, 1863. As the first official pronouncement of Lincoln's expressed intention to free the slaves in rebellious territory, it was a momentous document. But there was nothing in it that compelled the President to implement it with the final proclamation of January 1st, providing he had changed his mind by that time. Would Mr. Lincoln make good his September promise and actually issue the "edict of freedom"? In December of 1862 that question was on millions of minds and thousands of lips. On the first day of the month the President's Annual Message reverted at length to his old and unacceptable policy of voluntary, gradual compensated emancipation. Rumor said that the Executive had backed down from the strong position announced in the preliminary proclamation. Nearly everyone feared the worst: Border state men seemed convinced that the final proclamation was coming, while the anti-slavery element seemed equally sure it was not.

On December 11, 1862 Representative Yeaman of Kentucky offered resolutions declaring the preliminary proclamation a dangerous and unconstitutional war measure. Only forty-five members supported the resolutions, which were laid on the table by ninety-four votes. On December 15, 1862 Representative Fessenden presented resolutions to the effect that the proclamation was

constitutional, well-adapted to hasten the restoration of peace, and an exercise of power that duly regarded states rights and free government. These resolutions passed seventy-eight to fifty-one, but this did not quiet Northern misgiving.

On December 18th the abolitionist J. M. Forbes wrote Sumner:

The first of January is near at hand and we see no signs of any measures for carrying into effect the Proclamation.¹

But in two letters to George Livermore dated December 25th and 28th Sumner was able to say:

The President is occupied on the Proclamation. He will stand firm. He said to me that it was hard to drive him from a position which he had once taken. . . . The President says he would not stop the Proclamation if he could, and could not if he would. . . . Hallelujah!²

Nevertheless on this same Sunday, December 28, 1862 the President indicated that he was not so sure of himself as Sumner thought him to be. The Senate chaplain, Reverend Byron Sunderland, preached an antislavery sermon that morning, then called on Lincoln in some alarm, venturing:

Mr. President, They say you are not going to keep your promise to give us the Emancipation Proclamation, that it is your intention to withdraw it. The President replied: "Well, doctor, you know Peter was going to do it, but when the time came he did not." Then Lincoln resumed his grave tone, and for half an hour he discussed the question of emancipation. He stated it in every light, putting his points so clearly that each statement was an argument. He showed the fullest appreciation of every side. It

¹ J. M. Forbes to Sumner, Boston, December 18, 1862. Sumner Mss.

² Sumner to George Livermore, Washington, December 25 and 28, 1862. *Proceedings*, Mass. Hist. Soc. XLIV, 596.

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was like a talk of one of the old prophets. And though he did not tell me in the end whether the proclamation would be issued or not, I went home comforted and uplifted, and I believed in Abraham Lincoln from that day.¹

FINAL PROCLAMATION — MANUSCRIPTS

Now Lincoln's mind was made up. On Monday, December 29, 1862 he gathered together his emancipation notes and wrote a draft of the final proclamation as he intended to present it to the Cabinet. That draft is not located, but the text is preserved. He gave it to Nicolay, asking him to have made five or six manuscript copies for the use of his ministers. No copy would have been prepared for Caleb Smith, who had resigned, nor for his successor John P. Usher, who was not appointed until a week later. Possibly none was made for Stanton, whose oral approval may have been obtained in advance; if there was a copy for the Secretary of War, it may now be in the Stanton Manuscripts. Very likely a copy was made for Welles, but it seems to have disappeared; it is thought to have appeared at auction, but is not to be found in Henkels' two sales of Welles' Civil War manuscripts, January 4 and 17, 1924, nor in other records searched. The four copies made for and used by Bates, Blair, Chase, and Seward are in the Library of Congress. They comprise three folio pages each, the third page of all four copies being in the same hand, evidently Nicolay's; pages 1-2 of two copies are in the hand of one clerk and pages 1-2 of the other two copies were written by different clerks. Blank spaces are provided for the enumeration of the excepted Louisiana parishes and Virginia counties. The copies are not signed.

¹ Quoted in Sandburg, Carl. *Abraham Lincoln, the War Years*. II, pp. 11-12.

At 10 a.m. on Tuesday, December 30, 1862 the Cabinet met in regular session. The President read aloud his draft of the final emancipation proclamation, asked for criticism, and after some discussion, caused the manuscript copies to be distributed. He asked the ministers to give the document close attention and to submit in writing such alterations as they thought desirable. He called a special Cabinet meeting for the next day and requested that the revised copies be brought to the meeting for consideration.

The Cabinet reconvened at 10 a.m. on Wednesday, December 31, 1862 for the final discussion of the document.² A considerable number of changes were suggested, many of which are embodied in or attached to the manuscript copies in the Library of Congress, including a complete draft rewritten by Chase. Sumner had suggested to the President and to Chase the desirability of a felicitous closing sentence and Chase had framed this in grand style. The suggestions were written down in order and at the end of the discussion Lincoln took them and said he would complete the document.

The rest of the day the President must have spent much of his time studying the recommendations and pondering how best to frame the document that was to usher in not only a new year but a new era. Special requests for the text of the proclamation came in but, since it was not yet written, they could not be complied with. At 5:14 p.m. identical telegrams were despatched to Greeley of the New York *Tribune* and Raymond of the *Times*. The original copies of these,

² The meeting may have taken place earlier than has been stated. The Washington *Evening Star* (December 31, 1862) reports under heading "AN EARLY CABINET MEETING," as follows: "This morning at eight o'clock the cabinet met and remained in session until 11 a.m. It is believed that they were in consultation over some portions of the proclamation expected to be issued tomorrow."

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in Nicolay's hand, are in the Brown University Library. Dated December 31, 1862, they read: "The Proclamation cannot be telegraphed to you until during the day tomorrow." Under the heading "THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION" the *Times* of January 1, 1863 stated: "It is ascertained that the President's Emancipation Proclamation will not be ready for publication till tomorrow."

At last Lincoln received the vital messages from General Dix and Michael Hahn (originals in the Library of Congress) defining the exact portions of Virginia and Louisiana not then in rebellion. The Emancipator was ready to emancipate.

Every conflicting suggestion now completely resolved in his mind, he wrote in a firm, clear hand the beginning of the proclamation. He clipped and pasted the two-paragraph quotation from the preliminary proclamation and proceeded in so calm and methodical a manner that he paused to endorse the copy from which he had made the clipping. Unlike most of Washington, after the revelry of New Year's Eve, the President was up early in the morning and completed his final draft of the final proclamation; on matters of policy and principle he stuck steadfast to his own ideas, but he incorporated some of the verbal refinements suggested by the Cabinet members, and closed with Chase's "felicitous sentence" — after inserting a significant qualification. He did not write in the formal subscription.

So it was that early on Thursday morning, January 1, 1863 the manuscript draft was rushed to the State Department to be engrossed. The engrossed copy was evidently returned for signature by Seward at about 10:45 a.m. The President signed it but, perhaps even while doing so, he noted a serious

error in the subscription. It read: "In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed." This phraseology was used by Lincoln to proclaim treaties that had been ratified by Congress. His independent proclamations always used the phraseology: "In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand..." For obvious reasons, Lincoln could not permit this confusion in the official copy of state. He must have asked Seward to have a new copy engrossed and, as it was eleven o'clock and his diplomatic guests were arriving for the New Year's reception, he repaired to the Blue Room, where for almost four solid hours his hand was wrenched and wrung by enthusiastic well-wishers.

But where was the proclamation? The *Daily National Republican* of January 1, 1863 regretted that "at the present time, we have not received a copy of the President's proclamation." Naturally — it was not signed yet. The same paper the next day described the reception: "The proclamation, however, had not been made public; and many looked inquiringly into the face of the President, but forbore to ask whether the word of liberation had been proclaimed." No, the edict of freedom had not yet been proclaimed; though while the guests gazed inquiringly, there was being run on the press of the *Evening Star* one of the greatest scoops in newspaper history. It is apparently unknown to Lincoln lore today and forgotten in journalistic annals, but the proclamation found its way out of the State Department and into the columns of the *Star* and onto the streets of Washington early on the afternoon of January 1, 1863 *before the official text had been signed*.

The text used to achieve this remarkable scoop was, of course, the engrossed copy with

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the "testimony . . . name" error, and it was copied by the *National Republican* on January 2, 1863 and elsewhere.

Whether this unofficial engrossed copy ever got back to Lincoln or not is a question difficult now to answer. More likely Seward kept it, for it passed to his Albany associate, Senator Cole, either from Seward or from Lincoln himself. From Cole it passed to his secretary, Frank A. Smith, and from him to his grandson, Francis S. Marlow; it then went to Joseph F. Sabin and, later, to Stan V. Henkels, from whom it was acquired by the late Oliver R. Barrett.

Just as it has been possible to reconstruct the story of the Barrett copy, so, too, can one trace the movements during New Year's Day of the original autographic draft and the corrected engrossed copy with the words "witness . . . hand." Both of these were picked up by Seward and, accompanied by his son Fred, he brought them to the White House in the late afternoon. Without ceremony and in the presence of only a few friends, the President put his name to the document in a hand made shaky by the vigorous greetings of the reception. He wanted to keep for himself the autograph draft and requested Nicolay to copy the formal subscription, which the secretary did, including Seward's signature. The President then signed it, again with a tremulous hand. The engrossed copy was then returned to the State Department to be attested by the great seal and deposited in the archives; it is now in the National Archives.

Lincoln told Carpenter that he regarded the Emancipation Proclamation as "the central act of my administration, and the great event of the nineteenth century." We may imagine then how deep must have been his appreciation for his own original autograph draft; yet in October of 1863 he sent it to be

sold at the Northwestern Fair for the Sanitary Commission in Chicago. In the Library of Congress is his letter of transmittal: "I had some desire to retain the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better." At the Fair the manuscript was acquired for \$3,000 by Thomas B. Bryan, president of the Soldiers' Home. Months before, Lossing had succeeded in having a facsimile made by Walker, the government photographer, for use in his history.¹ That original facsimile in four folio pages, together with Lossing's autograph account of the interview with Lincoln in which he obtained permission to have it made, was sold at auction May 9, 1912 (Anderson Auction Company, Catalogue 958, item 153). It is now in the New York State Library. Another, but later, facsimile of the Bryan manuscript was published by the Lincoln Art Publishing Company of New York in 1895; this is a large folio showing both Carpenter's famous painting, "The Proclamation of Emancipation," and the autograph text in three columns (copy in RPB). After Bryan acquired the original manuscript, he had Ed. Mendel of Chicago lithograph at least four different issues from time to time for sale at other fairs. Thus have copies been preserved for us; but tragically the original was destroyed in the great fire of 1871.

The Bryan manuscript of the final proclamation, like the Albany draft of the preliminary proclamation, was also the subject of a forgery which was reproduced by Whitney in *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston, 1892). The printed clipping in the Whitney forgery contains fourteen rather than thirteen lines. I have not seen the original of this forgery. Another manuscript version with

¹ Lossing, Benson J. *Pictorial History of the Civil War* (Hartford, 1868), II, 560-564.

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a forged signature is in the Library of Congress. It is a copy that was made for Vinnie Ream, the sculptress, while she was working on the statue that now stands in the Rotunda of the Capitol. Part of the text is apparently in her hand and the rest seems to have been written by Nicolay, who perhaps copied in Lincoln's name. So much for the manuscripts.

WE have seen that the *Star* obtained by irregular means and printed the text of the final proclamation during the early afternoon of January 1st. Greeley and Raymond and others had been promised the text some time during the day. After the official copy had been signed and Seward had left with it, Nicolay doubtless copied off from Lincoln's manuscript a draft for the use of the telegraphers in disseminating the news and for the immediate printing of a few copies of the first edition. By eight o'clock the text was headed in many directions. In Boston a great meeting of celebration had been called, and Mrs. J. Quincy wrote to Mrs. Lincoln under date of Boston, January 2, 1863 (original in DLC): "It was not until the vast audience had assembled . . . that the news arrived that the proclamation was actually on the wires of the telegraph. The reception of this intelligence was worthy of the 'Declaration of Emancipation!' which must rank in future with that of Independence."

A number of newspapers did not issue on January 2nd because of the previous day's holiday, but most of those that did carried the final proclamation. Many of the others printed it on January 3rd. The *New York Times* stated: "THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION. President Lincoln's Proclamation, which we publish this morning, marks an era in the history, not only of this war, but of the country and the world."

FINAL PROCLAMATION — EDITIONS PRINTED IN JANUARY, 1863

THE first separately printed edition of the final proclamation (No. 8) is a two-page broadsheet that carries as a caption-title the italicized heading "*Emancipation Proclamation.*" It is a State Department issue, bearing the printed signatures of Lincoln and Seward only, and was printed in haste to serve the urgent need for a few copies until the resplendent, official folio edition could be prepared. The sheet measures 7¼ by 4¾ inches and was printed at the Government Printing Office, probably during the evening of January 1, 1863. It differs from the other official editions notably in that it has a descriptive heading. It is definitely the counterpart of the first edition of the preliminary proclamation already described. A number of errors in punctuation and capitalization are to be found that were corrected in the State Department folio editions, for which it may have been used as an editor's worksheet. For example, in this edition the word "proclamation" appears with an initial capital in one place, but elsewhere it is in lower-case; the opening parenthesis is omitted where the Virginia counties are excepted; in later editions the commas are omitted from "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free"; in all later editions the word "do" is omitted from "And I do hereby enjoin upon the people . . ."; in the subscription to the first edition the "C" of "City" has an initial capital and the "i" of "independence" an initial small letter, while in later editions these are reversed. The number of copies printed of the first edition was extremely small as few were needed immediately; only one of these seems to have survived. (See illustration.)

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The second edition (No. 9) was printed the following evening, not for official purposes, or even in Washington, but in Lincoln's home town of Springfield, Illinois. It is an extra of the *Illinois State Journal*, datelined Friday Evening, January 2, 1863. It is the only separate newspaper edition of the final proclamation that I have seen. The sheet measures 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the proclamation is printed in double-column under the heading: "IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON. / PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN."

The third edition (No. 10) is the earliest State Department folio. A copy in the Huntington Library has a certification signed in manuscript by William H. Seward authenticating it as the official edition of the State Department. It may be assumed that this edition was not printed before January 3, 1863, but it was probably printed on that day or the next. A note on the John Hay Library copy at Brown states that this was the official edition distributed to diplomats. Certainly one of the first persons to receive a copy would have been Lord Lyons, the British ambassador. Under date of January 2, 1862 [1863] he transmitted a copy of the proclamation to Lord Russell in London. Had he received the official copy by that time, that is the one he would have sent. I have examined a photostat of the copy transmitted (original in the British Museum) and identified it as a clipping taken from the *National Republican* of January 2, 1863. The third edition measures 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ and is printed on the first page of a four-page folded sheet, with the other three pages blank; the blank leaf is usually trimmed off. It corresponds to the second edition of the preliminary proclamation; this I have not located, but it must have been printed for the same official purposes.

The fourth edition (No. 11) is a circular printed for dissemination to the foreign service posts of the Department of State. It is a four-page sheet folded to 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches, with pages two and four blank, the circular letter on page one and the proclamation on page three. The proclamation closely resembles the third edition in text, punctuation, capitalization, spelling, and other technical details, including typeface and, in fact, the two are almost identical except for slightly wider spacing in the fourth edition, which produces some differences in line endings. The fourth edition has four hyphenated line endings, whereas the third has none. The various official State Department folio proclamations of the period that I have examined do not contain any hyphenated line endings. Three of the four located copies of the fourth edition lack the circular letter. Two of these (MWA and MHi) came from Charles Sumner; the latter in an envelope signed by Sumner and postmarked "Washington 6 Apr 63." That date establishes nothing as to when it was printed. The complete copy, however, which is in the National Archives and is signed in manuscript by William H. Seward, is the copy addressed to Charles F. Adams at the American Embassy in London. It is endorsed as having been "Rec^d 19 Jan^y 1863." It must have been despatched either on the Cunard Royal Mail Steamship *Europa* or F. Macdonald and Company's *Caledonia*, both of which sailed for Britain on January 7, 1863. This would place the date of printing of the fourth edition about January 5, 1863.

The fifth edition (No. 12) is the familiar War Department publication, General Orders, No. 1, dated (but not printed on) January 2, 1863. It extends to three pages, measuring 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 5 inches when untrimmed,

Emancipation Proclamation.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, On the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by Proclamation, designate the States, and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States, and parts of States, wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard,

Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans,) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognise and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I do hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and [A. S.] sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

Secretary of State.

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and carries the name of L. Thomas at the end with a space provided for the signature of the Assistant Adjutant General. Some fifteen different reissues occur in compiled versions of "General Orders," but these are of no concern in our discussion of the separate editions.

A despatch carried by the *New York Times* of January 1, 1863 — datelined Washington, December 31, 1862 — repeated a current rumor as follows: "The Emancipation Proclamation will be made public tomorrow, and copies have been sent today to the Generals commanding in the field." This report has led to the speculation that copies of General Orders, No. 1 were printed on December 31st or before and despatched by mail to military commanders. However, as we have seen, the manuscript document was not finally written until January 1st, and we may be sure that if copies were sent to the field on that day they were *telegraphic* copies and not printed copies of General Orders, No. 1. The foundation behind the rumor, if there was any, was perhaps the fact that manuscript copies had been made for the Cabinet officers.

The time lag between the date carried on General Orders and their actual printing ran at this period about seven to ten days; in the case of the beginning of the new series for 1863 it seems to have been at a minimum of one week, with proclamations about ten days behind. A telegram from Robert Williams to Major General J. E. Wool, dated War Department, Washington, January 11, 1863 (original in National Archives) states: "A copy of General Orders, No. 2 of January 3, 1863 assigning you to the command of the Department of the East . . . was forwarded to you by mail on the 8th instant." This indicates that General Orders, No. 2 was printed on January 7th or January 8th. As we know,

General Orders are not always printed in sequence and General Orders, No. 2, a brief military appointment, may well have preceded No. 1. While the exact date on which the latter was printed cannot be positively established, there is no question but that it must have been sometime between January 6th and January 10th, probably nearer the latter date. Distribution of General Orders then, as now, was "automatic," which accounts for the fact that letters of transmittal are not to be found, except in unusual cases. The Adjutant General's records of distribution are in the National Archives and reveal that approximately 15,000 copies of General Orders, No. 1 were printed. Of these, some 2,000 went to the various Bureaus; 500 to posts, regiments, states, generals, and miscellaneous groups; 3,000 to the Cumberland Department; 1,200 to the Department of the Gulf; 1,000 to the Department of Missouri; 800 to the Department of the Middle; 500 to the Department of Tennessee; 400 to the Department of Washington; 300 to the Department of the East; and most of the remainder to the following Departments: Ohio, South, Virginia, North Carolina, North West, New Mexico, Pacific, Oregon (District), Susquehanna, Monongahela, West Virginia, and St. Mary's (District).

This edition is listed in the Grolier Club's *One Hundred Influential American Books*, where it is erroneously described as "possibly the first, and certainly the first separate, printing of the *Proclamation*."

The sixth separate printing of the final proclamation (No. 13) is General Order, No. 4, Navy Department, January 14, 1863. It is a two-page broadsheet, measuring about 8½ by 5½ inches. The proclamation proper is a transcript of the State Department text, preceding which is a heading signed by Gideon

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Welles, Secretary of the Navy: "The following Proclamation of the President is published for the information and government of the officers and others of the Naval Service." The discovery of this heretofore unnoticed Navy Department edition of the final proclamation naturally led to a search for a corresponding edition of the preliminary proclamation; none was found.

The seventh edition (No. 14) is a broadside corresponding to No. 6, evidently issued by J. M. Forbes about the same time as he published the eighth edition (No. 15). This latter is a miniature pamphlet ($3\frac{3}{8}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches) of eight pages with wrapper-title reading: "Proclamation of Emancipation by the President of the United States, January 1st, 1863." It corresponds to the miniature pamphlet edition of the preliminary proclamation and hence was probably published at the instance of John Murray Forbes with the support of Governor John Albion Andrew of Massachusetts. Andrew had attended the Altoona Conference of governors, which met to urge upon Lincoln the wisdom of emancipation. Andrew was ardent in the cause of freedom, and it will be seen from the following extract (Ogdensburg, N. Y., *True Advance*, January 23, 1863) that he undertook to give this edition wide distribution:

Governor Andrew means to let the darkies know that they are free. He has caused the proclamation to be bound up in tiny book form, and has had packages of them franked to the Massachusetts regiments, requesting the various officers to see that they are distributed.

This would place the printing of the seventh and eighth editions at Boston about the third week in January.

The ninth edition (No. 16) was issued by Major General Banks at New Orleans. It is

General Orders No. 12, War Department, Headquarters, Department of the Gulf, January 29, 1862 [sic] promulgating the proclamation. The text begins: "The Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated January 1st, 1863, is published in General Orders for the information and government of the officers and soldiers of this command and all persons acting under their authority." The text of the proclamation follows from the middle of page 2 to page 3.

One might reasonably expect, in view of the above printing "in the field," that many other similar editions emanated from various local headquarters. A search of the files in the National Archives, the War Department, the National War College Library, and elsewhere has failed to reveal, however, that any other was printed. Presumably the distribution of the Adjutant General's edition was large enough to make further reprinting unnecessary.

Thus far we have traced the bibliographical aspects of the origin, development, and official issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. With the close of January, 1863 there were no more official editions. Had this been any one of a thousand important war measures, our story would end here; but it was, rather, one *in* a thousand, and the influence it was to exert brought forth a host of further editions. Few of these have ever before been bibliographically recorded and their very rarity militates against the hope that we have succeeded in finding them all.

From the number that have been brought together in the appended bibliography a few general observations can be made. These issues were the means by which there developed in the North a sense of righteousness that turned a fratricidal slaughter into a holy

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crusade. Framed and displayed in thousands of homes and prominent places, emancipation became a watchword of almost hysterical power and incalculable effect. Thus beyond the influence of the proclamation as a practical war measure — which alone was sufficient to turn the tide of battle and to preserve the Union — it provided an ever-present reminder of the war's true justification, and thus was important as a propaganda and morale factor. Not only was this true with regard to fighting and winning the war, but also with regard to agitating public opinion to the pitch necessary to pass the Thirteenth Amendment which, in effect, put the proclamation into the Constitution of the United States; the editions of 1865 bear this out.

The following bibliographical listing of the printed editions includes those of the preliminary proclamation issued before January 1, 1863 (Nos. 1-7), when it was superseded and put into actual operation by the final proclamation; next it lists the editions of the final proclamation in chronological order as they appeared between January 1, 1863 and January 30, 1863 (Nos. 8-16); and, finally, it lists in alphabetical order by publisher the non-official separate editions that appeared to December, 1865 (Nos. 17-52) when the proclamation was superseded by the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment.

In compiling this bibliography strict adherence to the above limits has necessarily been observed, thus precluding enumeration of many interesting later editions. Some of these made their appearance as early as 1866, while others have been printed in recent years. One beautiful edition, for example, appeared in Chicago as a poster advertising a minstrel presentation of "Lincoln Freeing the Slaves." Although undated, it had an early look; research, however, revealed that

the show was not presented until the 1870s. Also interesting are several unusual editions of the words set to music; the sheets were separately printed, but are of too late a date for inclusion here.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that only separate editions have been recorded. Thus no mention is made of the newspaper editions, although many of these are curious, such as the printings in the St. Croix *Avis* and the St. Thomas *Tidende* in the Danish West Indies. Also excluded are editions that appeared in periodical or serial literature. General Orders, which are sometimes thought of as serial publications, are more often regarded as separates and hence are included in their original issues but not, of course, in the numerous compiled versions. The proclamation appeared, too, in the various contemporary editions of Lincoln's speeches and writings. An especially interesting edition that does not qualify for inclusion is one printed in Syriac by missionaries at Osoohmiah, Persia, in 1863.

The search for elusive editions has been rather extensive and led through some fascinating fields, though many of them were not productive of positive results. For example, the author has studied thousands of varieties of patriotic envelopes, broadside ballads, lithographic prints, and engravings with indifferent results, although one might imagine that the document would have been a must for such Civil War greats as Magnus, Kimmel, Berlin and Jones, Currier and Ives, Prang, and Ditson. True, Currier, Darley, Nast and others issued scenes representing emancipation, but without the proclamation text; so did Magee of Philadelphia, but with only a very brief extract from the text.

Almost without exception, what is listed below I have seen in the original or in photo-

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stat. Hearsay reports and references to titles that cannot be found are generally omitted; one recollection of an old-timer is of an edition printed in red, white, and blue on an American flag; and there are references to others that may or may not exist.

The writer concludes his essay with the observation that, while on occasion he has been obliged to rely upon inference, he can with absolute assurance assert that once his work is in type, numerous new issues will arise to haunt him.

Bibliography

KEY TO LOCATION SYMBOLS

BrMus	— British Museum
CSmH	— Henry E. Huntington Library
CtY	— Yale University Library
DLC	— Library of Congress
DNA	— National Archives
DNR	— Office of Naval Records and Library
GEU	— Emory University Library
ICHi	— Chicago Historical Society
ICN	— Newberry Library
ICU	— University of Chicago Library
IHi	— Illinois State Historical Library
InU	— Indiana University Library
InFtwL	— Lincoln National Life Foundation
MB	— Boston Public Library
MBat	— Boston Athenaeum
MH	— Harvard University Library
MHi	— Massachusetts Historical Society
MWA	— American Antiquarian Society
MiU-C	— William L. Clements Library
N	— New York State Library
NHi	— New-York Historical Society
NN	— New York Public Library
NcD	— Duke University Library
OCIWHi	— Western Reserve Historical Society
PPL	— Library Company of Philadelphia
PU	— University of Pennsylvania Library
RPB	— Brown University Library
THarol	— Lincoln Memorial University Library
Eberstadt	— Edward Eberstadt & Sons
Olson	— Dr. Charles Olson
Rosenbach	— The Rosenbach Company
Scribner	— Charles Scribner's Sons
Starr	— Thomas I. Starr
Streeter	— Thomas W. Streeter

PRELIMINARY PROCLAMATION (EDITIONS OF 1862)

NO. 1. ["NOTICE OF ISSUANCE"]

Notice of issuance of Proclamation emancipating slaves in States / in rebellion on January 1, 1865 [sic]. / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: / A PROCLAMATION. / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United

States of Amer- / ica, and Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do / hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war / [95 lines] / Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of Sep- / tember, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hun- / dred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United / States the eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, / Secretary of State. /

3 pp., 7¼ by 3¾ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, circa September 22, 1862]

[copy:] Eberstadt

First edition. This State Department edition is the only official edition with a caption-title. It commences with the words "*Notice of issuance*" which, together with many other contributing factors, show it to be the first printed edition. The misprinted date in the caption indicates the haste with which it was printed in order to supply the few copies needed immediately for the local press and several Government agencies. Corresponds to No. 8. (See p. 317 and insert.)

NO. 2. [OFFICIAL STATE DEPARTMENT FOLIO]
[BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / [short thin rule] / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States . . . / . . . / Independence of the United States

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

of America the eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State. /]

Broadside, 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, [Washington, circa September 23, 1863]

[copies:] Unlocated

Second edition. I have not seen this issue, but infer from the standing operating procedure applicable to documents of this nature that it *was* printed. The title, as given, is conjectural and can only be verified when copies come to light. This edition corresponds to No. 10 (See p. 318.)

NO. 3. [CIRCULAR LETTER EDITION]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-chief of the Army / and Navy thereof, . . . / [61 lines] / eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State*. /

4-page folded circular letter with text of the proclamation on pages 3-4, 13 by 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, circa September 25, 1862]

[copies:] CtY, DLC, DNA, MiU-C, RPB

Third edition, corresponding to No. 11. (See p. 318.)

NO. 4. [GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 139]

GENERAL ORDERS, / No. 139. / WAR DEPARTMENT, / ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, / *Washington, Sept. 24, 1862*. / The following Proclamation by the President is published for the / information and government of the Army and all con-

cerned: / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, / and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby / . . . / tember, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred / and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / William H. Seward, *Secretary of State*. / BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR: / L. THOMAS, / *Adjutant General*. / OFFICIAL: / [blank] / *Assistant Adjutant General*. /

3 pp., 7 by 4 $\frac{5}{6}$ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, circa September 29, 1862]

[copies:] CSmH, CtY, DLC, DNA, ICHi, ICN, IHi, InU, InFtwL, MB, MiU-C, NHi, NN, NcD, RPB, Eberstadt (4), and others.

Fourth edition. This edition has often been described as the first separate appearance of the preliminary proclamation just as General Orders, No. 1 of 1863 is generally thought to be the first edition of the final proclamation. The fact is that General Orders of this period were not printed until one to two weeks later than the date they carried. (See p. 319.)

NO. 5. [UNCLE SAM EXTRA]

UNCLE SAM EXTRA. / [large flag, shield, and eagle design] / [thin double rule] / BOWLING GREEN, SATURDAY EVE, October 4th, 1862. / [thin double rule] THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. / [filet] / President Lincoln's Proclamation. / [filet] / WASHINGTON, September 22, 1862. / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States / of America, and Commander-

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in-Chief of the Army and Navy / [36 lines] /
Act making an additional article of WAR,
approved the 13th of / March, 1862. /
(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the
President: / WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary
of State. /

Broadside, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, [Bowling
Green, October 4, 1862]

[copy:] InFtwL

Fifth edition. The extracts from the Confisca-
tion Act are left out as explained at the bottom
in the following words: "[Note. — As every one
is familiar with the Act of Congress referred to,
we omit it, giving merely the words of the Procla-
mation. — Printer.]" I have not located copies
of the newspaper itself to ascertain whether this
broadside was printed in Bowling Green, Mis-
souri, or Bowling Green, Kentucky. Dr. Warren
acquired it in Kentucky. The paper was prob-
ably a soldiers' publication.

NO. 6. [FORBES, J. M. (?) — BROADSIDE]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES. / [spread eagle with ribbon in
beak, reading:] E PLURIBUS ☆ / ☆ ☆
UNUM ☆ ☆ / A PROCLAMATION. / I,
Abraham Lincoln, President of the United
States, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army
and Navy thereof, do hereby / [50 lines]
/ and of the Independence of the United
States the 87th. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
/ By the President: / WM. H. SEWARD,
SECRETARY OF STATE. / [thin double
rule] / SLAVERY THE CHIEF CORNER-
STONE. / "This stone (slavery), which was
rejected by the first builders, is become the
chief stone of the / corner in our new edifice."
— *Speech of Alex. H. Stephens, Vice Presi-
dent of the Cotton Confederacy; delivered
March 21, 1861.* /

Broadside, 8 by 6 inches, [Boston, Decem-
ber, 1862]

[copies:] IHi, MWA

Sixth edition. Presumably the forerunner of No.
7 published by Forbes and carrying at the bot-
tom the extract from Stephens' speech that ap-
pears on the back wrapper of the miniature
pamphlet. In this broadside edition Stephens
is styled "Vice President of the Cotton Con-
federacy," instead of "the so-called Confederate
States." (See Nos. 7, 14, and 15.) Some twenty
years ago a copy of this broadside appeared in
Goodspeed's Catalogue 181, item 643; the place
of printing is ascribed to Washington, but Bos-
ton is more likely.

NO. 7. [FORBES, J. M. (?) — MINIATURE PAMPHLET]

[wrapper - title on light - brown paper:]
THE / PROCLAMATION / OF / EMAN-
CIPATION, / BY THE PRESIDENT / OF
THE / UNITED STATES, / TO TAKE
EFFECT / JANUARY 1st, 1863 / [enclosed
in thin double-rule border] [caption title:]
BY THE / PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES: / A PROCLAMATION. /

8 pp., 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches, [Boston, December,
1862]

[copies:] GEU, IHi, InFtwL, MHi, RPB,
THaroL, Eberstadt

Seventh edition. The only separate pamphlet
edition of the preliminary proclamation. It is
the last edition of 1862 and is listed by Mona-
ghan, No. 147. The back wrapper contains the
quotation from the speech by Alexander H.
Stephens ("*Vice President of the so-called Con-
federate States*") under the caption "SLAVERY
THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE." This quota-
tion appears, with minor variations, in Nos. 6,
14, and 15. The text has a number of variations
from the earlier official versions, but none of
significance.

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This is the edition said to have been published by Forbes and distributed by him in one million copies [!] to the soldiers and Negroes. The following (with certain obvious inaccuracies) appears in *Letters and recollections of John Murray Forbes*, edited by his daughter, Sarah Forbes Hughes (Boston, 1899), I, 348-349:

With the view of placing the Proclamation of Emancipation in the hands of the negroes themselves, my father had 1,000,000 copies printed on small slips, one and a half inches square, put into packages of fifty each, and distributed among the Northern soldiers at the front, who scattered them about among the blacks, while on the march. Sumner approved the idea, as will be seen by the following letter:

“Washington, Xmas Day, 1862.

“My dear Forbes,

“Your letter of 23d was on my table when I returned from an interview with the President, where much had been said about the Proclamation. He is now considering how to proclaim on 1st January. It will be done. He says of himself that he is hard to be moved from any position which he has taken. He let me know last evening of his plan to employ African troops to hold the Mississippi River, and also other posts in the warm climates, so that our white soldiers may be employed elsewhere. He seemed much in earnest.

“I did not write at once on the receipt of your letter of 18th December, because it found me excessively occupied, and because I had been already assured by the President with regard to the Proclamation. I see no objection to printing the extract from Stephens on the sheet with the [Preliminary] Proclamation; and I like much the idea of distributing the Proclamation through the army. I have exhorted the President to put into the next Proclamation some sentiment of justice and humanity. He promised at once to consider it.

“Why not send to all the hospitals, camps, posts? The more the better.

“Ever yours,

“CHARLES SUMNER”

FINAL PROCLAMATION

(EDITIONS PRINTED IN JANUARY, 1863)

NO. 8. [*Emancipation Proclamation* CAPTION-TITLE]

Emancipation Proclamation. / BY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA: / A PROCLAMATION /
Whereas, On the twenty-second day of Sep-
tember, in the year / of our Lord one thou-
sand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Procla- /
mation was issued by the President of the
United States, contain- / ing, among other
things, the following, to wit: / [61 lines] /
In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my
hand and caused / the seal of the United
States to be affixed. / Done at the City of
Washington, this first day of January, / in
the year of our Lord one thousand eight hun-
dred and / sixty-three, and of the independ-
ence of the United States / the eighty-seventh.
/ ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the Presi-
dent: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, / *Secretary*
of State. /

2-page broadsheet, 7¼ by 4¾ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, *circa* January 1, 1863]

[copy:] Eberstadt

First edition. This twelvemo broadsheet, set up at the Government Printing Office in type similar to that used for War Department General Orders, is a State Department issue, signed with the printed names of only Lincoln and Seward. It probably was used to supply the text to the local newspress and as “copy” for the official folio. The heading “*Emancipation Proclamation*” is unique among official issues and, like the unusual heading on No. 1, was evidently used for identification purposes only. Some punctuation and capitalization have been corrected in the later issues. (See p. 324 and illustration.)

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NO. 9 [ILLINOIS STATE JOURNAL EXTRA]

STATE JOURNAL. / [thin double-rule] / EXTRA. / [rule] / FRIDAY EVENING, JAN. 2, 1863. / [rule] / IMPORTANT FROM WASH- / INGTON. / [short rule] / PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN. / [short rule] / The Slaves of Arkansas, Texas, Part of / Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, / Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, / and a Part of Virginia, Declared Free. / [short rule] / WASHINGTON, Jan. 1. — Whereas, on the 22d / [90 lines in double-column] / United States of America the eighty-seventh. / (Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State. /

Broadside, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, [Springfield, January 2, 1863]

[copy:] IHi

Second edition. Apparently the only separate newspaper edition of the final proclamation and the earliest non-official edition. Printed on Friday evening, January 2, 1863, this Extra, in point of chronological sequence, was preceded only by the first official edition.

NO. 10. [OFFICIAL STATE DEPARTMENT FOLIO]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / [short thin rule] / WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September; in the year of our Lord one thousand / [46 lines] / Done at the city of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one / thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of / America the eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: /

WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.* /

Printed on first page of four-page folded sheet (other three pages blank), 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, circa January 3, 1863]

[copies:] CSmH (3), DLC (2), RPB, Rosenbach

Third edition. This is the official State Department folio. Neither of the Library of Congress copies has an accession date. To one of the Huntington copies is attached a Department of State form authenticating the document; it is signed by William H. Seward. Line four of this edition ends: "eight hundred and" and the last line reads: "America the eighty-seventh." Corresponds to No. 2. (See p. 325.)

NO. 11. [CIRCULAR LETTER EDITION]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / [short thin rule] / WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand / [47 lines] / Done at the city of Washington this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one / thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States / of America the eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.* /

Printed on third page of four-page folded sheet, with Seward's circular letter dated January 3, 1863 on page one, 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ by 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, circa January 5, 1863]

[copies:] DNA, MHi, MWA, Rosenbach

Fourth edition. Only the DNA copy is complete with the circular letter. The proclamation,

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS, On the 22nd day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the UNITED STATES, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the UNITED STATES, shall be henceforth and forever FREE; and the Executive Government of the UNITED STATES, including the Military and Naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, issue a proclamation designating the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the UNITED STATES; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the UNITED STATES by members chosen thereto, at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof, are not in rebellion against the UNITED STATES."

Now, THEREFORE, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, in a time of actual armed rebellion against the authority of the Government of the UNITED STATES, as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this FIRST DAY of JANUARY, in the year of our Lord ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED and SIXTY-THREE, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the date of the first above mentioned order, designate as the States and parts of States therein, the people whereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the UNITED STATES, the following, to-wit: ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA, except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, La Fourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans; MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, and VIRGINIA, except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth; which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I DO ORDER and DECLARE, that ALL PERSONS HELD AS SLAVES within designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward SHALL BE FREE, and that the Executive Government of the UNITED STATES, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of the said persons; and I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and I recommend to them that, in all cases where allowed, they LABOR FAITHFULLY for REASONABLE WAGES; and I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the UNITED STATES, to GARRISON FORTS, POSITIONS, STATIONS, and other places, and to man VESSELS, of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an ACT OF JUSTICE, WARRANTED by the CONSTITUTION, upon military necessity, I invoke the CONSIDERATE judgment of MANKIND and the GRACIOUS FAVOR of ALMIGHTY GOD.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the UNITED STATES, to be affixed.

Done at the CITY OF WASHINGTON this FIRST DAY of JANUARY, in the year of our Lord ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED and SIXTY-THREE, and of the INDEPENDENCE of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA the EIGHTY-SEVENTH.

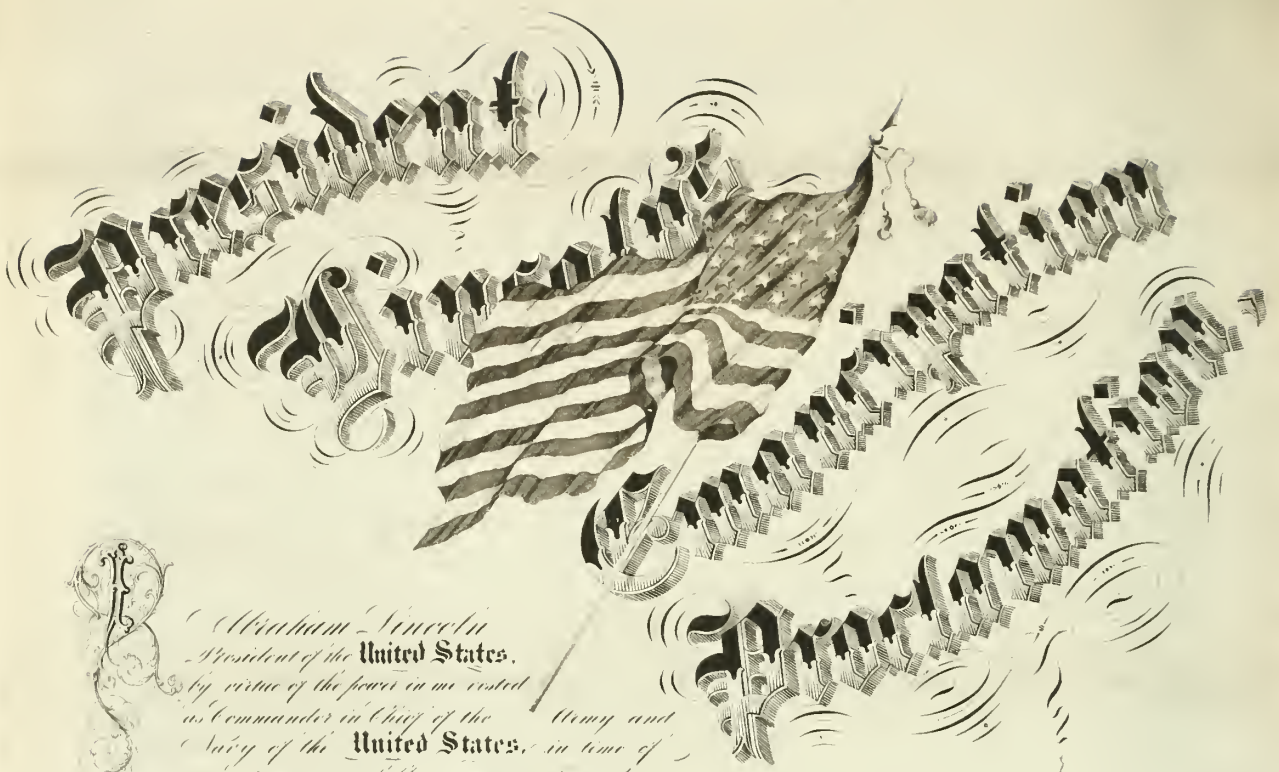
By the President:
WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

(Signed)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

THIS PROCLAMATION is an inevitable element of strength to the Union cause. It makes an alliance between the Rebel and Foreign States as impossible as it is for millions of Southerners to give slavery better than Freedom. They bring the Government in proportion as it becomes a shield of persons and states from oppression, the wrongs of persons, lives and millions of treasure from being lost in bloody wars. It perfects the purpose of the Emancipation or Liberty Breeze and restores constitutional rights those whom it would affect, having forfeited those rights by perverting ideas to their country, to humanity and justice. It not only to the Union cause will be lost by this Proclamation, while those carrying freedom, who always correctly opposed the war, will be exposed. It will be a powerful incentive to the South to fight to the last, instead of the mild measures, and when it becomes apparent and Freedom reigns throughout the land, the colored man will leave the Northern regions without he has not been slavery, and join his kindred beyond these empty ones where slavery has no labor will be rewarded, justice fulfilled, and the Old Glory of those who will again and again over the martyred waters of Liberty and Peace. Citizens and slaves meet your doom who fight against a free Government, and enjoy of thankfulness and love glory in its splendor.

RUFUS BLANCHARD, Publisher, 68 La Salle St. Chicago, Ill.



Abraham Lincoln
President of the *United States*,
by virtue of the powers in me vested
as Commander in Chief of the *Army and*
Navy of the United States, in time of
actual armed rebellion against the authority
and government of the *United States*, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppress-
ing said rebellion, do, on this first day of *January* in the year of our Lord one thousand
eight hundred and sixty three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the
full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above mentioned order, and designate as the States
and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the *United States*, the
following, to wit: *Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana* — except the parishes of *St. Bernard, Plaquemines,*
Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary,
St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of *New Orleans* — *Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia,*
South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia — except the forty eight counties designated as *West Virginia*,
and also the counties of *Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk*,
including the cities of *Norfolk and Portsmouth*, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely
as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the powers and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all
persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward
shall be free; and that the executive government of the *United States*, including the military
and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence,
unless in necessary self defense; and I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed they
take faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition will
be received into the armed service of the *United States*, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other
places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the *Constitution*,
upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of

Almighty God

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which appears on page three, is quite similar to the third edition, except for line endings. Line four ends "eight hundred" and the last line reads: "of America the eighty-seventh." In this edition there are four hyphenated line-endings: line 8, "thence-"; line 13, "desig-"; line 32, "desig-"; and line 46, "Constitu-". This edition has 51 lines of text while the third edition has 50 lines. This edition corresponds to No. 3. (See p. 325.)

NO. 12. [GENERAL ORDERS, NO. 1]

GENERAL ORDERS, / NO. 1. / WAR DEPARTMENT, / ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE, / *Washington, January 2, 1863.* / The following Proclamation by the President is published for the / information and government of the Army and all concerned: / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of / . . . / Done at the city of Washington this first day of January, in the year / of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and / of the Independence of the United States of America the / eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.* / BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR: / L. THOMAS, / *Adjutant General.* / OFFICIAL: [blank space] / *Assistant Adjutant General.* /

3 pp., 6¾ by 4½ inches (or less, depending on how closely trimmed), [Washington: Government Printing Office, *circa* January 7, 1863]

[copies:] CSmH, DLC, DNA, IHi, ICHi, InU, InFtwL, MHi, MB, MBAt, MiU-C (2), N, NN, RPB, Eberstadt (5), Starr, Scribner (2), Streeter, and others.

Fifth edition. Until the present writing, this edition has generally been regarded as the first. It corresponds to No. 4. (See p. 325.)

NO. 13. [NAVY GENERAL ORDER, NO. 4]

GENERAL ORDER, / No. 4 / NAVY DEPARTMENT, / *January 14, 1863.* / The following Proclamation of the President is published for the / information and government of the officers and others of the Naval / Service. / GIDEON WELLES, / *Secretary of the Navy.* [rule] / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September in the year of / [63 lines] / eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.* /

2 pp., 7¾ by 4⅝ inches, [Washington: Government Printing Office, *circa* January 17, 1863]

[copies:] DLC (2), DNA, DNR, IHi, MiU-C, NN, NcD, RPB

Sixth edition. No corresponding edition of the preliminary proclamation appeared. (See p. 327.)

NO. 14. [FORBES, J. M. (?) — BROADSIDE]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: / [eagle-and-flag design] / A PROCLAMATION. / [filet] / I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy thereof, do hereby / [72 lines, including both the preliminary and final proclamations, separated by a filet] / (Signed) [printed name:] ABRAHAM

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

LINCOLN. / By the President. / WM. H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE. / [long double rule] SLAVERY, THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE. / "This stone, (Slavery,) which was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief / stone of the corner in our new edifice. — *Speech of Alex H. Stephens, Vice President of the so-called Confederate States; delivered March 21, 1861.* /

Broadside, 16½ by 10⅝ inches (including margins), [Boston, circa January 20, 1863]

[copies:] CSmH (2), InU, MB, RPB

Seventh edition. Corresponds to No. 6, but includes the text of both proclamations. Carries the Stephens quotation that appeared on No. 6 and on the Forbes miniature pamphlet editions (Nos. 7 and 15). The quotation in this case has no closing quotation marks; has a capital "S" in "Slavery"; and the date "1861" rather than "'61."

NO. 15. [FORBES, J. M. (?) — MINIATURE PAMPHLET]

[wrapper-title on light-brown paper:] PROCLAMATION / of / EMANCIPATION by the / President of the United States, / JANUARY 1st, 1863. / [short thin rule] / SLAVERY THE CHIEF CORNER-STONE. / "This stone (slavery,) which was / rejected by the first builders, is be- / come the chief stone of the corner in / our new edifice." — *Speech of Alex. H. / Stevens, Vice President of the so called / Confederate States, delivered March 31, '61.* / [entire title enclosed within thin double-rule border] [caption-title:] BY THE PRESIDENT / OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: / A PROCLAMATION. /

8 pp., title on paper wrappers, 3¾ by 2¼ inches, [Boston, circa January 20, 1863]

[copies:] CSmH, IHi, MHi

Eighth edition. Monaghan 235. The quotation on the front wrapper appears on the back wrapper of the comparable miniature pamphlet edition of the preliminary proclamation (No. 7). On the back wrapper of this present edition is Jackson's proclamation "*To the Free Colored Inhabitants of Louisiana*," Sept. 21, 1814.

This edition appears to be from the same press as No. 7, with similar light-brown paper wrappers, and was probably published by John Murray Forbes who had enlisted the support of Gov. Andrew in obtaining distribution. (See p. 328.)

NO. 16. [GENERAL ORDERS NO. 12]

Promulgating the Emancipation Proclamation. / GENERAL ORDERS / NO. 12. / HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF, / New Orleans, January 29, 1862 [1863]. / The Proclamation of the President of the United States, dated January 1, 1863 / . . . / [short rule, proclamation text on pp. 2-3:] BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. / A PROCLAMATION. / WHEREAS, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand / [54 lines] / of the United States the eighty-seventh. / [L.S.] ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State. /

4 pp. (proclamation on pages 2 and 3, page 4 blank), 12mo, [New Orleans, circa January 30, 1863]

[copies:] CsmH, DNA, InFtwL, MB, RPB

Ninth edition. The only printing of the proclamation "in the field." (See p. 328.)

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FINAL PROCLAMATION
(FEBRUARY, 1863 — DECEMBER, 1865)

NO. 17. [BLANCHARD, RUFUS — WITH
FOOTNOTE]

EMANCIPATION / PROCLAMATION.
/ WHEREAS, On the 22nd day of September, A.D. 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the / United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: / [41 lines] EIGHTY-SEVENTH. / (Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President: / WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State. / [thin double rule] / [seven lines of antislavery propaganda printed in about 4-point type and signed:] RUFUS BLANCHARD, Publisher, 52 La Salle St. Chicago, Ill. /

Broadside, 14½ by 10½ inches (to outside of ¼-inch border), [Chicago, *circa* 1864]

[copies:] CsmH, DLC, IHi, InU, MiU-C, RPB, THarOL, Eberstadt

The type is a conglomerate mixture of every font in the composing room. The background is tinted light green (or, in a variant, blue) with white stars, while the border of roses and oak leaves is tinted red and green. The THarOL copy is a further variant, without the stars in the background, and with the first line of text ending “issued by the” instead of “issued by the President of the”; otherwise it is the same. (See illustration.)

NO. 18. [BLANCHARD, RUFUS — WITH
VIGNETTES]

PROCLAMATION / OF / EMANCIPATION / [same as above, but on thin paper and, incorporated in the tinted floriated border, the motto:] National / Freedom / Forever. /

Broadside, 16¾ by 13¾ inches (including margins), [Chicago, *circa* 1864]

[copies:] IHi, MiU-C

The heading differs from the foregoing and Blanchard’s footnote is omitted. This edition has a light blue background with white stars, and some added vignettes at the bottom.

NO. 19. [BUTLER, F. S.]

President / Lincoln’s / [American flag in colors] / Emancipation / Proclamation. / I Abraham Lincoln, / President of the United States, / by virtue of the power in me vested / as Commander in Chief of the Army and / Navy of the United States, in time of / actual armed rebellion against the authority / and government of the United States . . . / [21 lines] / and upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, / upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgement of mankind and the gracious favor of / Almighty God / Executed and published by F. S. Butler, 1864. / Aged 14 years. / Printed by L. Nagel. / *Entered . . . the year 1864, by F. S. Butler, in the . . . Northern District of California.* /

Broadside, 27 by 20⅛ inches (including margins), [San Francisco: Nagel, 1864]

[copies:] NHi, NN, Eberstadt

A copy that appeared at public auction in 1930 (now unlocated) bears the autograph signature of Abraham Lincoln; it sold for \$3,100 at the American Art Association, February 25-26, 1930, being item 226 in the catalogue, where it is illustrated. Another unlocated copy is one sold recently by Rosenbach. This is a very handsome lithograph, and it seems almost incredible that it could have been executed by a fourteen-year-old boy. Benjamin F. Butler, who was a California pioneer of 1849 and established the first lithographing plant on the West Coast, may have been the boy’s father. The essential portions of the text are arranged in a most effective

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manner. NHi has, besides its original copy, an early photograph of this edition, measuring 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ by 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. (See illustration.)

NO. 20. [De FOREST, RICHARD]

Proclamation of Freedom. / [heavy rule] / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. / [heavy rule] / WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day of Septem- / [81 lines in double-column] / of the United States of America the eighty- / seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President — WILLIAM H. SEWARD, / Secretary of State. / [thin line] / PUBLISHED BY RICHARD De FOREST. / Printed by Edward R. Fiske, Foster Street, Worcester, Mass. /

Broadside, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 12 inches (including margins), [Worcester: Fiske, circa 1863]

[copy:] THaroL

Enclosed within pink-tinted borders of ornamental type, below which appears the imprint.

NO. 21. [DIMMICK, R. A.]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION / [in streamers surrounded by eagle, flags, portrait of Lincoln, and dates 1861 and 1863] / By the President of the United States of America. / Whereas, *On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was / issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things the following, to wit:* / [30 lines] / *pendence of the United States the eighty-seventh.* / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln / *By the President.* / [facsimile signature:] William H. Seward / *Secretary of State.* /

Broadside, 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ by 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (to end of

tinted margin), [New York: C. A. Alvord, printer, 1864]

[copies:] CsmH, DLC, IHi, MB, MH(2), MWA, MiU-C, NHi, NN(2), OClWHi, PPL, RPB

Copyrighted by R. A. Dimmick in New York, 1864; W. Roberts, Del. sc. The DLC copy has a copyright stamp dated 27 Oct 1864. The text is mostly script with a liberal admixture of caps, caps and small caps, boldface, black letter, etc. The bottom has a view of Fort Sumter in flames while six more scenes ornament the left and right borders. Those at the left portray slavery (a whipping scene, an auction scene, and a bloodhound scene) and those at the right portray freedom (an agricultural scene, a school scene, and a steamboat scene). Another issue of this pictorial edition is listed under John Foster. The work was reproduced in the New York *Saturday Evening Mail*, February 6, 1909.

NO. 22. [FOSTER, JOHN]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION [in streamers surrounded by eagle, flags, portrait of Lincoln, and dates 1861 and 1863] / By the President of the United States of America. / Whereas, *On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was / issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things the following, to wit:* / [30 lines] / *pendence of the United States the eighty-seventh.* / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln / *By the President.* / [facsimile signature:] William H. Seward / *Secretary of State.* /

Broadside, 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (including margins) [New York: C. A. Alvord, printer, 1865]

[copy:] DLC

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This is identical with the 1864 edition of R. A. Dimmick (No. 21) except that it is not tinted, is copyrighted 1865 rather than 1864, and the copyright is in the name of John Foster instead of R. A. Dimmick.

NO. 23. [HAYNES, A. J.]

THE GREAT EVENT OF THE AGE! / NEGRO EMANCIPATION PROCLAIMED! / [filet] / WASHINGTON, JANUARY 1, 1863. / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. / Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, a Proclamation was issued by the President / [35 lines] / and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh. / (Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President. / WILLIAM H. SEWARD. Secretary of State. /

Broadside, 19½ by 8¾ inches (to outside of ornamental border), [Newburyport, *circa* 1864]

[copy:] InFtwL

At the bottom, but inside the border, is the following: "*Published and Sold by A. J. Haynes, at the Periodical and Variety Store, 55 State st., Newburyport.*"

NO. 24. [KIDDER, A. — CHICAGO, 1863 MINIATURE]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION / NOW THERE / FORE I / ABRAHAM / [Lincoln portrait in center medallion] / LINCOLN / PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES / BY / VIRTUE OF THE POWER / IN ME VESTED AS / COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND NAVY / in a time of actual

armed Rebellion against the authority of the Government of the Uni- / ted States as a fit and necessary WAR MEASURE for suppressing said / [29 lines] / -three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln. / Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1863 by A. Kidder in the . . . northern district of Illinois. /

Broadside, 3¼ by 21⅛ inches (including margins), [Chicago, 1863]

[copy:] InFtwL

This is the first Kidder engraved miniature edition, similar to that printed in New York, 1864 but without ornamental border, with different line endings, and slightly smaller. A. Kidder wrote to Lincoln on January 6, 1864 enclosing a copy.

NO. 25. [KIDDER, A. — N. Y., 1864 MINIATURE]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION / NOW THERE / FORE I / ABRAHAM / [Lincoln portrait in center medallion] / LINCOLN / PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES / BY / VIRTUE OF THE POWER / IN ME VESTED AS / COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND NAVY / in a time of actual armed Rebellion against the authority of the Government of / the United States as a fit and necessary WAR MEASURE for suppressing / [32 lines] / of the United States of America the eighty seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln. /

Broadside, 3⅞ by 2¾ inches (to outside of ornamental border), [New York: A. L. Lewis, 609 Broadway, 1864]

[copies:] CSmH, InFtwL, NN, RPB (4), Eberstadt

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Copyright by Kidder in the Southern District of New York in 1864. This is a beautiful engraved miniature, hot-pressed on cardboard. The portrait is especially fine; it measures $\frac{5}{8}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The RPB copies are struck from the same plate but each is on a different variety of paper, one on a heavy card and another on what seems to be proof-paper. This edition was facsimiled in *The New Voice*, vol. XVI, no. 32, New York, August 12, 1899.

NO. 26. [KIDDER, A. — CHICAGO, 1864 ENGR.]

Proclamation of / [eagle] / EMANCIPATION / Whereas *On the 22d day of September in the year of our Lord 1862 a PROCLAMATION was issued by the / PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES / containing among other things the following, to wit:...* / [32 lines] / INDEPENDENCE of the United of America the eighty seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln. / Lith & printed by Chas. Shober Cor. Clark & Lake St Chicago / Entered ... by A. Kidder in the ... Northern District of Illinois. / Designed & executed by A. Kidder /

Broadside, 22 by 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (including margins), [Chicago: Shober, 1864]

[copies:] DLC, InFtwL, NHi

The DLC copy has a library stamp giving copyright date as 17 Aug 1864, but a manuscript note "Filed Dec. 23, 1863." No ornamental border; the portrait shows a receding hairline extending to the back of the head. This issue does not give Kidder's New York and Chicago addresses. There are four vignettes in addition to the portrait and the eagle.

NO. 27. [KIDDER, A. — CHICAGO, 1864 LITHO.]

Proclamation of / [eagle] / EMANCIPATION / [36 lines] / Designed & executed by A. Kidder Publisher Office 429 Broadway

N. Y. 86 Dearborn St. Chicago. Lith. & printed by Chas. Shober Cor. Clark and Lake St. Chicago. Entered ... by A. Kidder in the ... Northern District of Illinois. A. Lincoln. /

Broadside, 22 by 18 inches (including margins), [Chicago: Shober, 1864]

[copies:] CSmH, IHi, NN, Streeter

The date is not given in the copyright of this lithographed edition or in the preceding. The text is mainly in script. There are six vignette illustrations including a portrait of Lincoln in an oval frame. The portrait shows a receding hairline.

NO. 28. [KIDDER, A. — N. Y., 1864 ENGR.]

———. The same as the foregoing except that the portrait has a horizontal hairline and bushy eyebrows, and the bottom reads: "Entered ... in the year 1864 by A. Kidder in the ... Southern District of New York. / The Original picture of which this is an engraved copy was designed and executed with a common pen and presented to Abraham Lincoln, President of the U. S. by A. Kidder, Publisher Office, 483 Broadway N. Y. & 86 Dearborn St. Chicago, Ill."

Broadside, 28 by 19 inches (including margins), [New York, 1864]

[copies:] DLC, RPB

Although the portrait in this engraved edition has been changed from the foregoing, the vignettes are the same and the facsimile signature remains. The DLC copy has a stamp dated 28 Apr 1864.

NO. 29. [KIDDER, A. — CHICAGO, 1865 ENGR.]

———. The same as the foregoing except that the four vignettes have been changed, the facsimile signature has been omitted, and

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the bottom reads: "Entered . . . in the year 1865 by A. Kidder in the . . . Northern District of Illinois. / The Original picture of which this is an engraved copy was designed and executed with a common pen and presented to Abraham Lincoln, President of the U. S. by A. Kidder, Publisher Office, 483 Broadway N.Y. & 98 Washington St. Chicago, Illinois."

Broadside, 22 by 18 inches (including margins), [Chicago, 1865]

[copies:] DLC, InFtwL

The Chicago address of the publisher is different in this edition, as are the vignettes. The DLC copy has a copyright stamp dated Nov 22 1865.

NO. 30. [LELAND-BOKER PROOFS]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / Whereas, On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United / States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: / [46 lines] / Done at the CITY OF WASHINGTON, this first day of January, in the year of our / Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh. / *By the President.* / [blank space] *Secretary of State.* /

Broadside, 18½ by 11¾ inches (including margins), [Philadelphia: Leypoldt, circa May 15, 1864]

[copy:] PU

This is the second of three proofs pulled for the Leland-Boker first edition. The first line of the

caption-title is in bold sans-serif type. The proof-reader has marked this line: "Keep the old heading on the 1st proof," indicating that there had been an earlier proof which has not come to light. All other proof-reader's marks are for wider spacing except for two: one of these calls attention to a piece of lead to be removed and the other calls for a file to be inserted between the caption title and the text. These corrections were made on the third proof which has the heading in Gothic letter and is identical with the final printing of the first edition except that it is on ordinary coarse paper and marked "Proof." The only known copy of this third proof is also in PU. These proofs were described by John E. Alden in *The Library Chronicle* (vol. XIV, no. 1) of the Friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library.

NO. 31. [LELAND-BOKER FIRST EDITION]

Proclamation of Emancipation / BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / [filet] / Whereas, On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United / States, containing, among other things the following, to wit: / [48 lines] / dence of the United States the eighty-seventh. / *By the President.* / [blank space] / *Secretary of State.* /

Broadside, 17½ by 11 inches (including margins), [Philadelphia: Leypoldt, circa May 20, 1864]

[copies:] IHi, InU, MiU-C, RPB, Eberstadt (2), Scribner(2), Streeter; Duschnes and Newman have sold copies.

This is the first edition of the much-discussed Leland-Boker project; it has been variously called the "rejected edition" and the "trial issue." It was the subject of an article by Randolph G. Adams in the Rosenbach birthday volume, *To Dr. R.* (Philadelphia, 1946) and

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has been reproduced along with the Leland-Boker autographed edition in *The Quarto*, no. 13, Jany., 1947. Both of these editions were exhibited by the Grolier Club in *One Hundred Influential American Books*.

In the Leland papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, John E. Alden has discovered the original bill of Frederick Leypoldt indicating that twenty-four copies of this edition were printed on May 20, 1864 and forty-eight copies of the autographed edition (see next item) were printed on June 6, 1864. Because of the small number printed, this is one of the more "collectible" of contemporary editions. Of the twenty-four copies, twelve evidently went to Boker, but have been lost or destroyed. Leland's twelve copies came to light several years ago, all of them printed on fine Whatman paper, and some of them showing a "WHATMAN, 1861" watermark.

Textually the two Leland-Boker editions show two major differences: the first edition has "City of Orleans" instead of "City of New Orleans" and "In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name" instead of "In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand." (For the origin of this latter variation see page 322.) Typographically the differences are numerous, the present edition making free use of ornamental type-faces in all-caps for emphasis. (See illustration.)

NO. 32. [LELAND-BOKER AUTOGRAPHED EDITION]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A Proclamation. / [filed]. / Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thou- / sand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United / States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: / [48 lines] / dence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh. / By the President: / [signed:] Abraham Lincoln / [signed:] William H. Seward / *Secretary of State*. / A true copy, with the autograph signatures of the Presi-

dent and the Secretary of State. / [signed:] Jno. G. Nicolay / *Priv. Sec. to the President*. /

Broadside, 22 by 17½ inches (including margins), [Philadelphia: Leypoldt, circa June 6, 1864]

[copies:] BrMus, CsmH(2), DLC, DNA, ICU, IHi, NHi, Olson; copies have been sold at auction in the Lambert Sale in 1914 and the Hearst Sale in 1938; Goodspeed, Newman, Stites, Rosenbach, and other dealers have handled copies.

This edition was printed in forty-eight copies which were signed by Lincoln, Seward, and Nicolay and offered for sale at \$10 each at the Great Central Sanitary Fair in Philadelphia, June 7-29, 1864. The fair attracted more than one hundred thousand visitors who spent more than one million dollars, yet not all copies of this souvenir edition were sold. Of the remaining copies, a few were presented to libraries, and five others were sold for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission (contemporary counterpart of the Red Cross) at the National Sailors Fair (November 9-19, 1864) in Boston. Concerning the Boston copies Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote from that city under date November 14, 1864 to the Rev. William Henry Furness in Philadelphia:

Leland (Charles G.) has proven himself a trump (excuse the profane allusion to cards — I forgot.) He has sent nice little paragraphs[,] a capital poem and today some autograph emancipation proclamations... [Original in PU.]

In *The Boatswain's Whistle*, published at the Fair, for Thursday, November 17th, 1864, no. 8, p. 60, col. 3, the following appears:

Five copies of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, received from Washington, at the table of Mrs. Henry A. Wise, have the following certificate appended thereto:

"This copy of the Proclamation of Emancipation was printed under the direction of George H. Boker and Charles Godfrey Leland, after a

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proof corrected for the especial purpose at the State Department in Washington. It was signed by the President and others, that it might be disposed of for the benefit of those who are now fighting for their country.

“Charles Godfrey Leland.

“*Philadelphia, Nov. 11, 1864.*”

The text conforms closely to those of the early official editions but is readily distinguishable by Nicolay's attestation, by the black-letter type used for “Whereas” and “Now Therefore,” and the Gothic title “A Proclamation” in upper and lower case; close examination reveals numerous other minor variations.

NO. 33. [MARTIN AND JUDSON]

[Spread eagle] / EMANCIPATION / [figures of Justice and Liberty centered between a slavery scene at left and freedom scene at right] / [in oval border:] Proclamation / Whereas on the 22d day of September in the year of our Lord 1862 a Proclamation was issued / [39 lines] / United States of America the eighty seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A Lincoln / [centered between flags is a portrait of Lincoln, beneath which is a scene titled “Give thanks all ye people, give thanks to the Lord!”] / Del., lith. and print. by L. Lipman, Milwaukee, Wis. / Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1864 by S. W. Martin & N. P. Judson, in the . . . District of Wisconsin. / Published & Sold by Martin and Judson, Madison, Wis. /

Broadside, 26¾ by 20¾ inches (including margins), [Milwaukee: Lipman, 1864]

[copies:] InFtwL, Eberstadt

A highly spirited Western edition embellished with four large slave scenes lithographed at the left and four freedom scenes at the right. (See illustration.)

NO. 34. [MENDEL — VERTICAL — LINCOLN PHOTOGRAPH]

Facsimile / of the / Emancipation Proclamation / [follows letter of transmittal from Lincoln to the Ladies in charge of the Chicago Fair; beneath which, at the left is a medallion containing a photograph of Lincoln, lettered “Photo. by Wenderoth & Taylor, Philadelphia.” At the right is a figure of Liberty with flag.] The Soldiers' Home. / Let Loyal Hearts / and Willing Hands / Cherish, Comfort and Care, / for my / Wounded Heroes. / By the President of the United States of America: / A Proclamation. / Whereas, on the twenty second day of September, in the / year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and / sixty two, a proclamation was issued by the President / of the United States, containing, among other things, the / following, to wit: / [13-line printed clipping from the “Circular” edition of the preliminary proclamation; 49-line manuscript in Lincoln's hand] / In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my / hand and caused the seal of the United States / to be affixed. / Done at the city of Washington, this first day of / January in the year of our Lord one thousand / eight hundred and sixty three, and of the / Independence of the United States / of America the eighty-seventh. / [facsimile signature:] Abraham Lincoln / By the President; / [facsimile signature:] William H. Seward, / Secretary of State / Every genuine copy has the Proclamation / seal attached immediately hereunder. / [embossed steel handstamp: “Emancipation Proclamation”] / I hereby certify that the above is an exact facsimile of the original manuscript of the Emancipation Proclamation . . . Thos B. Bryan, President of the Soldiers' Home, Chicago, Illinois. / [Countersigned:] Henry W. Bellows, President U. S. Sanitary Com-

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mission. / Published and lithographed by Ed. Mendel, Chicago. Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1863 by Thos. B. Bryan, in the . . . Northern District of Illinois. /

Broadside, 29 by 23 inches (within borders), [Chicago: Mendel, 1863]

[copies:] DLC, InFtwL, MWA, Eberstadt

On January 7, 1864 Thomas B. Bryan wrote to Lincoln forwarding the first two "lithograph facsimiles of your proclamation of Freedom." (See illustration.)

NO. 35. [MENDEL — VERTICAL — LINCOLN LITHOGRAPH]

———. The same as the foregoing except that the medallion in the upper left is a lithographic rather than photographic portrait of Lincoln (the picture measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches).

Broadside, 29 by 23 inches (within borders), [Chicago: Mendel, 1863]

[copies:] DLC, IHi, ICHi, MH, RPB

The RPB copy does not have Bellows' counter-signature, which is also omitted from the edition laid out horizontally (No. 36).

NO. 36. [MENDEL — HORIZONTAL]

Facsimile of the Emancipation Proclamation. / [similar to above except that the letter of transmittal is at the left and the arrangement is horizontal rather than vertical] / . . . / I hereby certify that the following is an exact Fac-Simile of the Original Manuscript Proclamation of Freedom. / [The imprint is the same as above, but without Bellows' counter-signature.]

Broadside, $18\frac{3}{4}$ by $30\frac{1}{2}$ inches (within borders), [Chicago: Mendel, 1863]

[copies:] DLC, ICHi, InFtwL, MiU-C, Starr

A manuscript note on the DLC copy reads: "Filed Dec. 30, 1863" and there is a stamp: "Copyright 17 Aug 64."

NO. 37. [MOSS, CHARLES M.]

PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM. / [decorative file] / By the President of the United States. / [decorative file] / WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight / hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by / the President of the United States, containing, among / other things, the following, to wit:- / [text in two columns separated by thin double-line rule, 74 lines] / IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my / hand and caused the seal of the United States to be / affixed. / Done at the City of Washington, the first day of Jan- / uary, in the year of our Lord one thousand / eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the In- / dependence of the United States of America / the eighty-seventh. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / By the President — WILLIAM H. SEWARD, / Secretary of State. / [long thin rule] / PUBLISHED BY CHARLES M. MOSS. / From the TIMES Publishing House, Jersey City. /

Broadside, $17\frac{3}{4}$ by 11 inches (to outside of border), [Jersey City: *Times*, circa 1863]

[copy:] DLC

Enclosed within ornamental borders, printed in red. This and the Paine calligraphic edition [No. 38] are the only two editions I have seen with the subscription reading "In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand . . ." In

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other editions when the word “testimony” is used, the word “name” follows; or if the word “witness” is used, the word “hand” follows.

NO. 38. [PAINE, JOSEPH E.]

PROCLAMATION. / January the First. / EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY THREE. / By the President of the United States of America. / [portrait of Lincoln] / WHEREAS [in flag with 35 stars] on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a / Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to / wit: . . . / [28 lines] / In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the / United States to be affixed. / Done at the City of Washington this first day of January, in the / Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Six- / ty-three, and of the Independence of the United States / of America the Eighty-seventh. / Abraham Lincoln. / BY THE PRESIDENT—William H. Seward, / Secretary of State. / Done *entirely* with steel pens and ordinary writing inks. Jan’y and Febr’y 1864 / J. E. Paine / Brooklyn, N. Y. / M. STADTFELD / 711 BD’WAY [photographer] / Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1864, by / Joseph E. Paine, in the . . . Southern District of New York. /

Broadside, 19½ by 14½ inches (dimensions of photograph), [New York: Stadtfeld, 1864]

[copies:] CSmH, DLC, InFtwL, MB, MH, NN, Eberstadt

A calligraphic edition reproduced by photograph, with the copyright in original pen and ink. The subscription reads the same as in the Moss edition (above). At the left is an infantryman who stands by a tall tree which forms the

left border. At different levels on the tree are carved the dates 1863, 1776, 1620 — the “1863” should be at the bottom of the tree but is at the top. The copies located show minor variations. The MB copy has a slightly smaller photograph (185/16 by 12¾ inches), and has the following information added in the copyright below: “ORIGINAL GIVEN TO THE BROOKLYN SANITARY FAIR, FEB. 22, 1864, AND BY A SUBSCRIPTION OF \$500, BOUGHT OF THE FAIR AND PRESENTED TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.” The DLC copy was filed Feb. 22, 1864 and has a copyright stamp dated 28 Apr 1864.

NO. 39. [PETERS, S. A. & COMPANY(?)]

[wrapper-title printed in gold on blue coated paper:] EMANCIPATION / PROCLAMATION / Of January 1st, 1864 [*sic*]. / [wavy line above and below and all enclosed in ornamental border; caption-title as follows:] BY THE / PRESIDENT / — OF THE — / UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / A PROCLAMATION. /

8 pp., 45⁄8 by 33⁄8 inches, [Hartford (?), *circa* 1864]

[copies:] InFtwL, RPB, THaroL

The pamphlet reprints the text, the date of which is incorrectly given on the wrapper-title as January 1st, 1864. Evidently it was published by S. A. Peters & Company to accompany an engraving which is described on page 8. The engraving was “Reading the Emancipation Proclamation” (Sc. J. W. Watts, Del. H. W. Herrick), which was copyrighted in the district court of Connecticut in 1864 by Lucius Stebbins and published by S. A. Peters & Company of Hartford.

NO. 40. [PRATT, W. H. — ORNAMENTAL OVAL BORDER]

Proclamation of Emancipation. / Whereas / on the twenty second day / of September in the year of our / Lord One thousand eight

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hundred / and sixty two a Proclamation was issued / by the President of the United States, contain- / ing among other things the following to wit: / [51 lines] / Done at the city of Washington this first day of January / in the year of our Lord One thousand eight- / hundred and sixty three & of the independence of the U. S. of America the 87th. / Designed and written by W. H. Pratt, Davenport, Iowa / Lith. by A. Hageboeck, Davenport, Iowa. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / Entered to act of Congress in the year 1865 by W. H. PRATT in the . . . Dist. of Iowa. /

Broadside, 15 by 12 inches (including margins), [Davenport, 1865]

[copies:] CSMH, DLC, IHi, InFtwL, MB, MH(2), MiU-C, RPB, Eberstadt

An interesting calligraphic portrait of Lincoln, after Meserve No. 87, and made by skillful shading of the handwritten text; hence the peculiar hyphenations. Of the several editions of this work, only this and the German translation have the simple ornamental border. A photographic issue of this lithograph, 13¾ by 10½ inches, without the identifying imprint, is in DLC, having been entered and deposited July 27, 1867 and bearing a copyright stamp dated Oct. 1868. (See illustration.)

NO. 41. [PRATT, W. H. — GERMAN TRANSLATION]

Emancipations Proklamation. / Nach dem / von dem Präsidenten der / Vereinigten Staaten am zwei und / [61 lines] / im Jahre seiben und achtzig der Unab- / hängigkeit der Ver. Staaten / von Nord America. / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. /

Broadside, 14¼ by 11¼ inches (including margins), [Davenport: Hageboeck, 1865]

[copies:] InU, MH

The same type of calligraphic portrait as the preceding, the text being enclosed in the same simple oval border. Also entered by Pratt in the Iowa district in 1865, and lithographed by A. Hageboeck of Davenport.

NO. 42. [PRATT, W. H. — NAMES IN BORDER]

Proclamation of Emancipation. / Names of Members of Congress / who voted for the resolution to submit to / the Legislatures of the several States the / Amendment to the Constitution of the / United States prohibiting slavery forever. / [The text of the Proclamation and the calligraphic portrait are identical with the edition above, and have the name at bottom:] ABRAHAM LINCOLN. /

Broadside, 18¼ by 14¾ inches (including margins), [Davenport, *circa* 1865]

[copies:] DLC, THarOL

This issue has no imprint or copyright. The names of the Congressmen are worked into a handsome scroll border. A facsimile reprint of this edition appeared in 1905; it is printed on a coated white paper that can readily be distinguished.

NO. 43. [PRATT, W. H. — NAMES AND SEALS]

Proclamation of Emancipation. / [same as the foregoing but with an added border of State seals] / Davenport, Ia., Western publication co. /

Broadside, 27⅞ by 22⅞ inches (including margins), [Davenport, *circa* 1865]

[copy:] RPB

The same calligraphic portrait designed and executed by W. H. Pratt. This edition has an imprint but no date.

Proclamation of Emancipation

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Whereas, On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as Slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and FOREVER FREE, and the EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, including the military and naval authorities thereof, WILL RECOGNIZE AND MAINTAIN THE FREEDOM of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, by virtue of the power in me vested as COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY AND NAVY of the United States in time of actual armed Rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said Rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, La Fourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of Orleans,) MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND VIRGINIA (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkely, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that ALL PERSONS HELD AS SLAVES, within said designated States and parts of States ARE, and HENCE-FORWARD SHALL BE FREE! and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval Authorities thereof, will RECOGNIZE AND MAINTAIN THE FREEDOM of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, UNLESS IN NECESSARY SELF-DEFENCE, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they LABOR FAITHFULLY FOR REASONABLE WAGES.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, SINCERELY BELIEVED TO BE AN ACT OF JUSTICE, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of ALMIGHTY GOD.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] Done at the CITY OF WASHINGTON, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

By the President.

Secretary of State.

FACSIMILE OF THE Emancipation Proclamation

Executive Mansion,

Washington, Oct. 26, 1863

Ladies having in charge
The North. Western Fair
for the Sanitary Commission
Chicago, Illinois.



By the President of the United States of America:
A Proclamation.

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following to-wit:

¹ That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three,
² all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons; and will do so not so soon as to require such persons, or any of them, in any effort they may make for their actual freedom.
³ That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in good faith, represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen therein at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.*

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion, against authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, proclaim for the full period of one hundred days, from this day, first of January, aforesaid, and as designated as the States and parts of States, wherein the population of respectively, on this day in rebellion against the Union,

the following to-wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of Orleans, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Iberville, Calcasieu, St. Mary, St. Theriot, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the fastings counties designated as West Virginia; and also the counties of Berkeley, Prince George, Northampton, Edgewood City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the City of Norfolk's Station; and which except counties are, for the present, left pending, as if the proclamation was not issued.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose of, herein I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States, and, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authorities, throughout recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby again upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self defense; and I recommend to them that, in all cases when allowed they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

According to the request made in your ^{perhaps} the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation is herewith enclosed. The formal words at the top, and the conclusion, except the signature, you possess and put in my hand-writing. They were written at the State Dept. signed by whom I know not. The printed portion cut from a copy of the preliminary proclamation and pasted on being to some writing.

I have some doubts to return the paper; but if it shall contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers, that will be better.

Yours Obedt Servt
Abraham Lincoln



(The Soldier's Home.)
LET LOYAL HEARTS
AND WILLING HANDS
CHEER, COMFORT AND CARE
FOR MY
WOUNDED HEROES.

And I further declare and make known, that such persons of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this day, sincerely believing to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the consistent judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States (D.C.) of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

By the President:
William G. Howard
Secretary of State

ENTER CLERK'S COPY HAS THE PROCLAMATION
SEAL ATTACHED IMMEDIATELY HEREON.

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE IS AN EXACT FACSIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, PURCHASED BY ME FROM THE NORTH-WESTERN FAIR. THIS PUBLICATION IS UNDERTAKEN IN BEHALF OF THE GENERAL TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION, AND ALSO TO CREATE A FUND FOR THE RELOCATION AND MAINTENANCE OF A PERMANENT HOME FOR OUR WOUNDED AND DISABLED SOLDIERS. PURCHASERS OF THIS FACSIMILE OF THE PROCLAMATION OF FREEDOM, WILL THIS INVENT THAT IMMORTAL INSTRUMENT WITH A NEW INTEREST, AS CONTRIBUTING TO NOBLE INSTITUTIONS WHICH SHALL PROVE A JUST TRIIBUTE OF A NATION'S GRATITUDE TO HER PATRIOT SOULS.

IN AN ARRANGEMENT WITH HENRY M. BELL, THE U. S. SANITARY COMMISSION GRANTS A LITERAL SHARE OF THE PROFITS FROM THE SALE OF EACH OF THIS FACSIMILE.

Printed and Illustrated by Ed. Mottet, Chicago

Henry M. Bellows, President U. S. Sanitary Commission

Thos. J. Ryan, President of the Soldier's Home, Chicago, Illinois

MENDEL'S ISSUE OF THE BRYAN MANUSCRIPT WITH
LINCOLN'S PHOTOGRAPH (NO. 34)

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

NO. 44. [RUSSELL, B. B.]

PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION / [portrait of Lincoln in circle over eagle, with oval scene of slave auction at left and slaves working at right] / [on banner:] BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. / Whereas, On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Two a / Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: / [26 lines] / In Testimony Whereof, *I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.* / Done at the CITY OF WASHINGTON, the First day of January, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Three, and of the Independence of the United / States the Eighty Seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln. / *By the President,* / [facsimile signature:] William H. Seward / *Secretary of State.* / [vignette at bottom] / J. MAYER & CO. LITH 4 STATE ST. BOSTON. / ENTERED . . . IN THE YEAR 1865, BY B. B. RUSSELL IN THE . . . DISTRICT COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS. / PUBLISHED BY B. B. RUSSELL & CO. 55 CORNHILL BOSTON. /

Broadside, 24 by 20 inches (including margins), [Boston: Mayer, 1865]

[copies:] CSmH, DLC, InFtwL, MH, RPB, Eberstadt

One of the more artistic of the illustrated editions, with an interesting sprinkling of display types. The DLC copy has a manuscript note "Deposited Nov. 11, 1865. Recorded Vol. 40." Some copies are tinted.

NO. 45. [RUSSELL, GILMAN R.]

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION [in ribbon topped by figure of Liberty flanked by eagle and slave and flags] / [dove of peace] / ISSUED JANUARY 1st 1863. / [calligraphic text surrounding full-length pen drawing of Lincoln standing by table on which is spread the Proclamation showing the facsimile signature "A. Lincoln"] Now therefore, I Abraham Lincoln / President of the United / [40 lines] / In testimony whereof I have hereunto / set my name / and caused the seal of / the United / States to be affixed. / Done at the / City of Washington / this first day / of January, in / the year of our / Lord one thou- / sand eight hundred and sixty three, and of the independence of the United States the / eighty seventh. / Abraham Lincoln / By the President, / William H. Seward Secretary / of State. / Entered . . . in the year 1865, by Gilman R. Russell in the . . . Eastern District of Pennsila. / THE ORIGINAL / Designed and Executed / entirely with a / PEN / BY / GILMAN R. RUSSELL / Prof of Penmanship / *P.S. Duval & Son Lith. Phila. / Published by G. R. Russell Phila. Pa. /*

Broadside, 30 by 24 inches (including margins), [Philadelphia: Duval, 1865]

[copies:] DLC, MH

The preliminary portion of the text is omitted in this highly decorative edition. Andrew Boyd's *A Memorial Lincoln Bibliography* (Albany, 1870), p. 150 lists a small photographic card (5¾ by 3¾ inches) of this Russell edition that I have not located. It is headed "Proclamation of Freedom by the President of the United States" and has the full-length portrait of Lincoln, as described above. Another similar photographic edition is in RPB, but it is larger, measuring 87/8 by 65/8 inches.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

NO. 46. [SEBALD, H.]

[Portrait of Lincoln in center medallion] / THE / EMANCIPATION / PROCLAMATION. / WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day of / September, in the year of our Lord one / thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a / proclamation was issued by the President of the / United States, containing, among other things, / the following, to wit: / [74 lines of text in two columns separated by thin rule] / Done at the city of Washington, this, the / first day of January, in the year of our Lord one / thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the / independence of the United States of America the / eighty-seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln — / Proclaim Liberty / throughout all / the Land / unto / all the / Inhabitants / thereof. / Lev. XXV v.x / L. HAUGG, Del. / H. SEBALD, ENG. /

Broadside, 18 by 13½ inches (within lightly tinted background), [Philadelphia (?), *circa* 1864]

[copy:] DLC

Printed text enclosed within decorative border engraved from the lithograph listed under F. W. Thomas (No. 49).

NO. 47. [SMITH, L. FRANKLIN]

LIBERTY / [spread eagle, above nine portraits of national heroes with Washington in the center] / PROCLAMATION OF EMANCIPATION / Whereas, On the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a / [37 lines] / hundred and sixty three, and of the Independence of the UNITED STATES the eighty-seventh. / [facsimile signatures:] William H. Seward

[and] A. Lincoln. / [16 portraits of national heroes with Lincoln in the center and eight scenes, four on each side] / MAX ROSENTHAL, DEL. & LITH. L. N. ROSENTHAL LITH, No. 327 WALNUT ST. PHILA. / L. Franklin Smith, Publisher, 327, Walnut St. Philadelphia, Box 2423. /

Broadside, 20¾ by 16⅛ inches (within border), [Philadelphia: Rosenthal, 1865]

[copies:] CSmH, IHi, InU, InFtwL, MH, NHi, NN, RPB(2)

The copyright is in Smith's name and dated 1865, but entered in the District of Connecticut, not Pennsylvania. This is one of the most attractive of the pictorial editions, done in excellent chromolithography. Brown University has two copies with different coloring. The Huntington Library has a "proof-before-letters" copy on different paper with the space for the proclamation blank. The same library and Indiana University both have a broadside by Smith announcing the publication of this edition and describing it in detail. The lithograph was also the subject of a fifteen-page pamphlet by Smith entitled "Presented to the subscribers to the Proclamation of Emancipation. Lithographed by Rosenthal, and published by L. Franklin Smith" (Philadelphia, [1865]). It is Monaghan No. 246.

NO. 48. [SWANDER, BISHOP & COMPANY]

E PLURIBUS UNUM / September 22d 1862 / January 1st 1863 / Emancipation Proclamation. / I Abraham Lincoln / President of the United States of / America and Commander in chief of the / Army and Navy thereof do hereby proclaim and / [68 lines] / . . . In witness whereof / I have hereunto set my hand and Caused the seal of the United States / to be affixed. Done at the City of Washington this first day of January in the / year of our Lord One thousand Eight

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hundred and sixty three and / of the Independence of the United States of America the / Eighty Seventh. By the President Abraham Lincoln / William H. Seward Secretary of State / [facsimile signature:] A Lincoln / [facsimile signature:] William H. Seward / Allegorical Portrait of / ABRAHAM LINCOLN. / [vignette at left showing slave being whipped and at right Liberty freeing slave, with corresponding dates 1860 and 1865] / Respectfully dedicated to the Union Leagues of the United States by the Publishers / Published by the Art Publishing Association of Philadelphia, Swander, Bishop & Co. / *Entered . . . in the year 1865 by Swander, Bishop & Co. in the . . . Eastern Dist. of Pennsylvania.* / *Des & Drawn with a Steel pen by R. Morris Swander / Engraved facsimile by P. S. Duval & Son Philada.* /

Broadside, 21½ by 16¼ inches (within lightly tinted background), [Philadelphia: Duval, 1865]

[copies:] CSmH, DLC, InFtwL, NHi (2), NN, RPB

An excellent calligraphic portrait after Meserve No. 85 using the text of both proclamations. One of the NHi copies is on very hard white paper, giving the appearance of being a reprint from the original plate. This edition is evidently the one referred to in Boyd's *A Memorial Lincoln Bibliography* (Albany, 1870), p. 150 under "Art Publishing Association."

NO. 49. [THOMAS, F. W.]

[Portrait of Lincoln in center medallion] / THE / EMANCIPATION / PROCLAMATION. / [allegorical figures on pedestals at left and right] / WHEREAS, On the twenty-second day / of September, in the year of our / Lord one thousand eight hundred / and

sixty-two, a proclamation was / issued by the President of the / United States, containing, among / other things, the following, to wit: / . . . [72 lines in two columns separated by thin rule] / In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, / and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. / Done at the city of Washington, this, the / first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty / seventh. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln — / [eagle on shield resting on crossed flags under which is vignette of Liberty shielding slaves from hounds and masters] / Proclaim Liberty / throughout all / the Land / unto / all the / Inhabitants / thereof. / Lev. XXV v.x. / Publ. by F. W. Thomas, Publisher of the "FREE PRESS" 418 North Fourth Str. Philada. / on Stone by L. Haugg 600 Chestnut Str. Philadel. /

Broadside, 22½ by 18¼ inches (including margins), [Philadelphia: Free Press, circa 1863]

[copies:] CSmH, DLC, MH, Eberstadt

The illustrated border of this tinted and lithographed edition is almost identical with that engraved by Sebald (No. 46). The two-column text is likewise similar, except for line endings and the comparatively plain initial capital "W" in the latter edition.

NO. 50. [THOMAS, F. W. — GERMAN
TRANSLATION]

THE / EMANCIPATION / PROCLAMATION. / In Anbetracht, dass am zwei und zwanzigsten Septem- / [79 lines, double-column] / abhängigheit der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika im siebenundachtzig-

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

/ sten Jahre. / [facsimile signature:] A. Lincoln—/ Published by F. W. THOMAS, Publisher of the “FREE PRESS,” 418 N. 4th St., Phila. / *Entered . . . in the year 1863 by F. W. THOMAS, in the Eastern District of Penn’a.* /

Broadside, 19 by 14 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches (including margins), [Philadelphia: Sebald, 1863]

[copies:] CSmH, IHi

Same portrait and elaborate decorative border as No. 46. The text, which is typeset in double-column in German, appears under the same caption title and above the same facsimile signature.

NO. 51. [UNKNOWN PUBLISHER]

Proclamation of Emancipation. / [filet] / By the President of the United States of America / *WHEREAS, on the Twenty-Second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation / was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things the following, to wit: / [32 lines] / and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.* / [name in script type:] A. Lincoln. / *By the President,* / [name in script type:] William H. Seward, / *Secretary of State.* /

Broadside, 8 by 7 inches (to outside of border), [n.p., circa 1864]

[copies:] MH, RPB

The text is enclosed within a proscenium-style border, with a shield centered in the arch. Contains the error “City of Orleans” rather than “New Orleans,” and the “testimony . . . name” mistake in the subscription. The RPB copy is hand-colored, the text pink and the border green, yellow, and red.

NO. 52. [UNKNOWN PUBLISHER]

Proclamation / of / Emancipation. / [filet] / By the President of the United States of America. / Whereas, On the Twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand / eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, / containing, among other things the following, to wit: / . . . [upper one-quarter of sheet is all that has been preserved.]

Broadside, 3 (originally about 12) by 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (including margins), [N.p., circa 1865]

[copy:] DLC

Printed in gold on blue coated paper, within decorative oval border.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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